

California Historical Society

Quarterly

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1934

Annals of Los Angeles	195
Part I. From the Founding of the Pueblo to the American Occupation	
J. GREGG LAYNE	
The Oldest Street in San Francisco	235
THOMAS P. BURNS	
The Genesis of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company	240
JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE	
Stage-Coach Days in California	255
REMINISCENCES OF H. C. WARD	
EDITED BY OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER	
The French Consulate in California, 1843-1856	262
(Continued)	
EDITED BY ABRAHAM P. NASATIR	
Western History—A Check List of Publications Relating to California and the West	281
New Members	283
Meetings of the Society	284
Gifts Received by the Society between June 1 and August 31, 1934	284
In Memoriam	286

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LOS ANGELES, 1857

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California Historical Society *Quarterly*

VOLUME XIII



NUMBER 3

SEPTEMBER 1934

ANNALS OF LOS ANGELES

By J. Gregg Layne

PART I.

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE PUEBLO TO THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION

INTRODUCTORY NOTE. The purpose of this article is to give a connected narrative of the history of the city of Los Angeles from the first arrival of the white man to the beginning of the Civil War. The details of the military operations around Los Angeles during the American conquest are intentionally passed over lightly for the reason that the subject has been adequately covered so many times by various writers and is readily available to the student of California history in many forms. It has seemed better to devote space which that subject would have occupied to side-lights of interest on local history, and to take particular care in arriving at the facts upon subjects that have long been in dispute.

THE SITE OF THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES

For hundreds of years, from the earliest memory of the aborigine, the Indian village of Yang Na, or the *ranchería* of Yabit, as the missionary fathers called it, had stood upon the site of the present city of Los Angeles, and this same village of Yang Na remained on that site for nearly a hundred years after the coming of the white man.

In the year 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed up the coast of California, and on the 8th of October anchored in San Pedro Bay,¹ which he called *Baia de los Fumos*, the Bay of Smokes, and which is now the Port of Los Angeles and part of that city, though some twenty miles from the orig-

inal site of the Pueblo. This first visit of the white man was short, for Cabrillo departed on the following day.

Sixty years later, in 1602, Sebastian Viscaino sailed along the coast of California, but there is no record of his having landed in the vicinity of the present Los Angeles.

Then the territory of Alta California was left alone by the white man for one hundred and sixty-seven years, until the religious order of St. Francis under the Venerable Padre Junípero Serra and the protection of the King of Spain founded the first white settlement and Franciscan Mission at San Diego in 1769.

Spain had decided that unless she occupied Alta California and the two fine harbors of San Diego and Monterey, either Russia or England would do so, and therefore she set about the matter diligently. Don Gaspar de Portolá had been made Governor of California and was commander-in-chief of the military forces.

It was on July 14, 1769, that Portolá left San Diego on his expedition to Monterey. His force consisted of sixty-four men including twenty-seven leather-jacket soldiers, *soldados de cuera*, under Rivera y Moncada, and six Catalan volunteers under Pedro Fages, with Padre Juan Crespi and Ensign Miguel Costansó as diarists. Proceeding northward, on August 2, they camped near a river, which they named Porciúncula, for the day was that of the great indulgence of Our Lady of Los Angeles de Porciúncula. This river was the present Los Angeles River, and the spot upon which the white men camped is the site of the present city of Los Angeles near where North Broadway crosses the river.² Porciúncula was the name of a chapel in Assisi, Italy, and the day for the indulgence of Our Lady of Los Angeles de Porciúncula could only be August 2 of each year, hence the party had camped for the day that each member might receive the atonement.

These were the first white men ever to set foot upon the site of the future Los Angeles, and a quotation from the Diary of Fray Crespi is merited, as his description is the first ever given of the Los Angeles district:

Wednesday, August 2.—We set out from the valley in the morning and followed the same plain in a westerly direction. After traveling about a league and a half through a pass between low hills, we entered a very spacious valley, well grown with cottonwoods and alders, among which ran a beautiful river from the north-northwest, and then, doubling the point of a steep hill, it went on afterwards to the south. Toward the north-northeast there is another river bed which forms a spacious water-course, but we found it dry. This bed unites with that of the river, giving a clear indication of great floods in the rainy season, for we saw that it had many trunks of trees on the banks. We halted not very far from the river which we named Porciúncula. Here we felt three consecutive earthquakes in the afternoon and night. We must have traveled about three leagues today. This plain where the river runs is very extensive. It has good land for planting all kinds of grain and seeds, and is the most suitable site of all we have seen for a mission, for it has all the requisites for a large settlement.

These are prophetic words, but the padre could hardly have realized how "large" a "settlement" would one day be here. He continues:

As soon as we arrived about eight heathen from a good village came to visit us; they live in this delightful place among the trees on the river. They presented us with some baskets of pinole made from seeds of sage and other grasses. Their chief brought some strings of beads made of shells, and they threw us three handfuls of them. Some of the old men were smoking pipes well made of baked clay and they puffed at us three mouthfuls of smoke. We gave them a little tobacco and glass beads, and they went away well pleased.

Thursday, August 3.—At half-past six we left the camp and forded the Porciúncula River, which runs down the valley, flowing through it from the mountains into the plain. After crossing the river we entered a large vineyard of wild grapes and an infinity of rosebushes in full bloom. All the soil is black and loamy, and is capable of producing every kind of grain and fruit that may be planted. We went west, continually over good land well covered with grass. After traveling about half a league we came to the village of this region, the people of which, on seeing us, came out into the road. As they drew near us they began to howl like wolves; they greeted us and wished to give us seeds, but as we had nothing at hand in which to carry them we did not accept them. Seeing this they threw some handfuls of them on the ground and the rest in the air. We traveled over another plain for three hours, during which we must have gone as many leagues. In the same plain we came across a grove of very large alders,³ high and thick, from which flows a stream of water about a buiey in depth. The banks were grassy and covered with fragrant herbs and watercress. The water flowed afterwards into a deep channel towards the southwest. All the land that we saw this morning seemed admirable to us. We pitched camp near the water. This afternoon we felt new earthquakes, the continuation of which astonishes us.

This is a foretaste of an element that is to figure prominently in California's history.

We judge that in the mountains that run to the west in front of us there are some volcanoes, for there are many signs on the road which stretches between the Porciúncula River and the Spring of the Alders, for the explorers saw some large marshes of a certain substance like pitch; they were boiling and bubbling, and the pitch came out mixed with an abundance of water. They noticed that the water runs to one side and the pitch to the other, and that there is such an abundance of it that it would serve to caulk many ships. This place where we stopped is called the Spring of the Alders of San Estévan.

This camping place for the night of August 3 was close to the present lower end of the Los Angeles Country Club, and the springs of pitch mentioned are the La Brea pits on Wilshire Boulevard between La Brea Avenue and Fairfax, from which so many hundreds of skeletons of prehistoric mammals have been taken.

Since this party of sixty-four men was the first gathering or passing of the white man at the site of the future city of Los Angeles, it is interesting to note among them the many men of importance at that time, and the many who later became important in the history and development of California: Don Gaspar de Portolá, the first Governor of California; Rivera y

Moncada, the second in command, who later became Comandante of Alta California from 1773 to 1777, but whose California life was spanned by the year of his first camping upon the site of Los Angeles and that of its founding, 1781, when he was killed in the Yuma revolt at the Colorado River after recruiting the Pueblo's first settlers; Don Pedro Fages, who later was Governor of California from 1782 to 1790; Sergeant José Francisco Ortega, the founder of the Ortega family in California, and who later had the most enviable military record in Alta California; Fray Juan Crespi, priest and diarist of the expedition, whose name has been immortalized by his wonderful diary, one of the outstanding documents of value in the history of California; Ensign Miguel Costansó, whose name will never become dim on the pages of our history, because of his diary of the expedition. And among the rank and file of the company are names that are as well known—men who made the history of Spanish California: Pedro Amador, for whom Amador County was named; Juan Bautista Alvarado, the founder of that famous family and grandfather of Governor Alvarado of the Mexican régime; José Raimundo Carrillo, the founder of the Carrillo family in California, who dominated affairs political in the province until the American occupation; José Antonio Yorba, a sergeant of Catalanian volunteers, and the first of the Yorba family of land barons in the southern part of the state, whose ranchos covered a principality; Pablo de Cota; José Ignacio Oliveras; José María Soberanes—these were the first white men to gaze on the site of the city to be, *Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles*.⁴

And now we have no record or mention of the site of Los Angeles until the founding of the Pueblo, twelve years later.

FOUNDING OF THE PUEBLO

Felipe de Neve y Perea had been made Governor of California in March, 1775, with the capital at Loreto in Baja California, and while there he felt that some agricultural experiments should be made to put Alta California on a more self-sustaining basis; for while the Mission establishments were self-supporting with their gardens and herds, the presidios were a heavy load upon the government. So with this idea in mind when the capital of the Californias was moved to Monterey in Alta California in 1777, the Governor examined closely all likely spots for such locations on his way to that famous port, with the purpose of founding pueblos or villages on such sites. Two such localities seemed ideally suited for this purpose: one on the banks of the Rio de la Porciúncula, and the other near San Francisco Bay on the headwaters of the Rio de San José de Guadalupe, there being sufficient water available in each place to augment the rains for irrigation, which would be necessary to reclaim the land for agricultural development.

Without more ado Neve decided to establish at once his first agricultural community in the province; and taking soldiers from Monterey, and settlers

from the Anza expedition which had now come into California from Mexico, he founded the Pueblo of San José on November 29, 1777—the first town in the present State of California.

Neve's *Reglamento* of June 1, 1779, for the governing of the Californias and fostering the establishment of colonies and settlements in Alta California was approved by the *Comandante General*, Teodoro de Croix, in September of that year, was provisionally put into effect at the beginning of 1781, and received the King's approval through the *Visitador General*, José de Gálvez, on October 24, 1781. Under its provision was approved the establishment of a second pueblo, to be known as Nuestra Señora de los Angeles on the Porciúncula River.

In December, 1779, Governor Neve sent an expedition into Sinaloa and Sonora under Lieutenant-Governor Rivera y Moncada to recruit soldiers for a presidio on the Santa Barbara Channel, and settlers for the proposed pueblo of Los Angeles. His instructions were to obtain fifty-nine soldiers and twenty-four families of settlers.

By April, 1781, Rivera had practically completed his military force, but with only half his complement of settlers he started from Alamos, Sonora, for Alta California by way of the Colorado River. In July the expedition reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers where Rivera made camp to prepare his animals for the tedious crossing of the Colorado Desert. Most of his troops had been sent on to San Gabriel Mission, but a portion of the soldiers in a second party with the settlers and their families had been sent on by another route, when Rivera and his remaining troops were set upon by a band of hostile Indians and massacred. Thus the man who had been a member of the first party of white men to stand upon the site of Los Angeles and who had picked its first settlers was killed the year of its establishment without ever having seen the result of the work in which he had so actively participated.

The party of settlers crossed the Gulf of California from Guaymas to Loreto under command of Lieutenant José Zúñiga, and started up the peninsula on its overland journey, May 16, arriving at San Gabriel Mission in Alta California August 18, 1781.

On the 26th of August, Governor Neve issued his proclamation for the founding of the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles. The document gives minute details as to the exact site, the distribution of lots, and various other particulars. The location was to be on the bank of the Rio Porciúncula at a spot now referred to by residents of Los Angeles as "Sonora Town," just northwest of the present plaza.

There has been much controversy and speculation as to the actual date of the founding of the Pueblo, but it is now fairly well proved and accepted, that the town was founded September 4, 1781.⁵

The headquarters for all operations in the district previous to the found-

ing of the Pueblo had been San Gabriel Mission. So from the Mission, on September 4 sallied forth the party formally to found the town.

Felipe de Neve headed the procession with a detachment of soldiers bearing the banners of Spain, followed by settlers numbering forty-four persons: eleven men; eleven women; and twenty-two children; and the march across the hills to their new home was accomplished in an orderly manner. There was little ceremony in the founding of the Pueblo, for building lots and agricultural fields had already been allotted to each family, and all now to be done was to provide shelter, so with wood and brush close at hand, they fell to work without more delay.

El Pueblo de Los Angeles was now founded, and since it was to become a great metropolis, let us look at the settlers, for it is important from the viewpoint of interest and historical fact that we know who and what the first settlers and founders of the future City of Los Angeles were.

They were a motley lot. There was not a full-blooded white family among them, but they were pioneer stock, and with three exceptions they stayed and built the town that was later to receive better blood to thrive upon. It has been the custom of our historians to glaze over the origin of the first settlers, putting them down at least by insinuation as "blue blooded Spanish Dons," but the records are plain and it is right from an historical viewpoint that we know the truth.

These, then, are the original founders of the Pueblo, who had been enlisted in Sinaloa, Mexico; their race, sex, and ages:^{5a}

- (1) Lara, José de, Spaniard, 50; María Antonia Campos, Indian, 23; three children.
- (2) Navarro, José Antonio, *mestizo*, 42; María Rufina Dorotea, *mulata*, 45; three children.
- (3) Rosas, Basilio, Indian, 67; María Manuela Calixtra, *mulata*, 43; six children.
- (4) Mesa, Antonio, Negro, 38; Ana Gertrudis Lopez, *mulata*, 27; two children.
- (5) Villavicencio, Antonio, Spaniard, 30; María de los Santos, Indian, 26; one child.
- (6) Vanegas, José, Indian, 28; María Maxima Aguilar, Indian, 20; one child.
- (7) Rosas, Alejandro, Indian, 19; Juana Rodriguez, *coyote* Indian, 20.
- (8) Rodriguez, Pablo, Indian, 25; María Rosalia Noriega, Indian, 26; one child.
- (9) Camero, Manuel, *mulato*, 30; María Tomasa, *mulata*, 24.
- (10) Quintero, Luis, negro, 55; María Petra Rubio, *mulata*, 40; five children.

(11) Moreno, José, *mulato*, 22; María Guadalupe Gertrudis, 19.

(12) Rodriguez, Antonio Miranda, *chino*, 50; one child.

Of the foregoing list three were expelled from the Pueblo within a year as "useless to the village and themselves"—Antonio Mesa and Luis Quintero, the Negroes, with their families, and José de Lara, the Spaniard, with his Indian wife and children—all of them going to Santa Barbara to give a little leavening to that aristocratic community. The "Barbareños" for the whole of the Spanish and Mexican period of California, considered themselves somewhat "ultra."

The last on the list of settlers, Antonio Miranda Rodriguez, the *chino*, never reached the Pueblo, having stayed with his daughter in Loreto, Baja California. But the assumption of early writers that the list as given showed only those who arrived here, and the mistranslation of the word *chino* as "Chinese," gave rise to the erroneous belief that one of Los Angeles' first settlers was a Chinaman.⁶

THE PLAZA

When Governor Neve founded the Pueblo of "Our Lady of the Angels," his first act, as was the custom in all Spanish towns, was to locate a plaza as a geographical center from which his town could radiate. Neve's plaza was rectangular in form, seventy-five *varas* wide by one hundred in length, a *vara* being slightly less than three feet. Instead of running toward the four cardinal points of the compass, the lines of this plaza of the new pueblo ran about equidistant between these points.

The original plaza was not on the location of the present historic plaza of Los Angeles, but lay to the north and west of it. The southern side ran nearly along the northern line of Marchesault Street, and the eastern border lay along the west side of the present North Main Street. Along three sides of the parallelogram there were twelve house lots, each forty by twenty *varas*, except the two upper corner lots which were of a different shape; and one-half of the lower, or eastern side was open, the other half of that side being occupied by the guard house, officers' quarters and a granary. An irrigating ditch or *zanja* bringing water from the river passed to the east and in the rear of the lots to the southeast corner of the square.⁷

Thirty fields for cultivation were also laid out: twenty-six of these contained each forty thousand square *varas*, being two hundred *varas* square, while the other four were one hundred by three hundred *varas*, and all the fields were separated by lanes three *varas* wide. These agricultural plats were located between the *zanja* and the river, directly east of the plaza, the distance between the irrigating ditch and the river being about twelve hundred *varas*. At that time the river ran east of its present bed.

THE POBLADORES

To each family was furnished from the royal treasury, to be paid for in installments from the produce of the land: two oxen, two mules, two mares, two cows, two sheep, two goats, one calf, one ass, and one hoe; while to the community at large were given the necessary tools for a cart maker.

And so life at the pueblo began. They probably found life not at all monotonous since the Indians of Yang Na at their very door gave them many problems to solve aside from the real work to be done in developing their orchards and gardens; and, too, we find there must have been a certain amount of strife, for in less than a year's time, in 1782, José de Lara, the Spaniard, with his Indian wife and children, and the two Negroes, Antonio Mesa and Luis Quintero, with their families were expelled from the Pueblo.

Junípero Serra, the president of the Missions of Alta California, paid his first visit to the new Pueblo in March 1782. He stayed at the village through the night of the 18th, and referred to the town endearingly as "La Porciúncula."⁸

Los Angeles was under the military jurisdiction of Santa Barbara until 1820, so a soldier from that presidio was sent to the new Pueblo in the person of Vicente Felix. He was at first made corporal of the guard, but soon was recognized for his ability and was made *comisionado* of the settlement, which office he filled for the next seven years when an *alcalde* was chosen from the residents in 1788.

A chapel was built in 1784, and by 1786 a grant of town lots and fields had been made to each settler.⁹ A few retired soldiers began to drift in as settlers, among them such men as the Spaniard Juan José Dominguez, who had also received a large grant of land from Governor Fages, who had succeeded Neve. This grant was known as the Rancho San Pedro, and it continued through the succeeding century largely in the ownership of the family to whom it was originally granted.

By 1791, ten years after the founding of the Pueblo, we find through natural increase and new arrivals, a population of one hundred and thirty-nine souls. There were twenty-nine dwellings built of adobe as were also the chapel, guard house, administration buildings, and granaries, all of which were enclosed by a wall of adobe.

Before the end of the first decade, in 1790, Neve's vision of a successful agricultural community had been realized, for the Pueblo produced more grain than any of the Missions in California except San Gabriel, and Governor Fages had been congratulated by the Comandante-General for the progress made at the settlement.

In the first decade good blood was added to the community in the persons of Juan Alvarez, Juan Ramirez Arellano, Roque Cota, Juan José Dominguez, Manuel Figueroa, Felipe Santiago García, Joaquín Higuera, José Ontiveros, Pedro José Romero, Santiago de la Cruz Pico, Francisco Reyes,

Efigenio Ruiz, Mariano Verdugo, José Villa, Rejis Soto, Francisco Lugo, Melecio Valdez, Rafael Sepulveda, as well as Sergeant Felix who had decided to remain. These names were all to live in the history of Los Angeles and California.

In 1795 there were five large private land grants in the vicinity of Los Angeles, and these ranchos supported several thousand head of horses and cattle. In the order of their creation, these ranchos were: First, the San Rafael, granted to the retired corporal José María Verdugo by Governor Fages October 21, 1784, was about four leagues northeast of the Pueblo. The second was granted to Manuel Nieto in November, 1784, and was the largest of all the grants, being known as Los Nietos, lying to the southwest of the town. The third was the famous San Pedro to Juan José Dominguez. The fourth was the Rancho at Portezuela, not so large, but exceedingly fertile and well watered, lying on the Camino Real about four leagues north of the Pueblo, granted to the old veteran Sergeant Mariano de la Luz Verdugo; and the fifth was the Encino Rancho, where Alcalde Reyes had a house. This place was taken from him by the friars and San Fernando Mission founded there in 1797. It thus appears by what slight tenure these grants were held in the early days.

In the year 1788, José Vanegas, the Indian, and one of the original founders, was made Alcalde of the Pueblo under Vicente Felix, as *Comisionado*, who still dominated affairs. In 1790, however, Mariano Verdugo, *gente de razón*, was elected alcalde, and the succeeding alcaldes up to the end of the century were: Francisco Reyes in 1793-95; Javier Alvarado for a short period in 1795 and 1796; José Vanegas again in 1796; Manuel Arellano in 1797; Guillermo Soto, 1798; Francisco Serrano, 1799; and Joaquín Higuera in 1800.

Living conditions were naturally hard during the last years of the Eighteenth Century in the Los Angeles district, for while food was plentiful, necessary clothing and materials for everyday use were almost unobtainable due to the isolated position of California. Father Salazar of San Gabriel states that while he was there in 1795, a man who had a thousand horses, and cattle in proportion, came to the Mission to beg a piece of cloth for a shirt as none could be obtained in the Pueblo.¹⁰

But the settlement had progressed, and in 1800 there were seventy families, the white population had grown from one hundred and forty to three hundred and fifteen by the beginning of the new century, and horses and cattle had multiplied from three thousand to twelve thousand five hundred head—a larger number than in any other California community.

THE DAWN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The beginning of the Nineteenth Century revealed the town of Los Angeles as a small settlement of about thirty adobe houses, twelve of which

were clustered about the open plaza and the balance huddled in the vicinity without any scheme of location. This was not on account of lack of land, but for sociability and protection against the Indians of Yang Na, who would steal anything that they could lay their hands on. Most of these houses outside the quadrangle lay between the plaza and the present location of the old church, La Reina de Los Angeles, slightly to the west of Main Street.

The houses were all of one story and generally of one room. The roofs were constructed flat of willow poles and thatched with tules covered with mud, and the few pieces of furniture in the house were made of willow poles tied together with strips of rawhide. The bed posts were driven into the ground as a rule, and quite often after a few weeks the bed would sprout leaves, making it a veritable "bower in the trees."

The townspeople had become exceedingly lazy, due to the ease with which Indian labor could be obtained, and therefore the usual types of amusement and occupation under such conditions soon became apparent in a disorderly and careless mode of living. Laziness reigned, and had it not been that the birds and hogs acted as scavengers, pestilence would surely have overcome the settlement. The padres from San Gabriel Mission complained bitterly of the idle and worthless lives led by most of their parishioners.¹¹ While there was no violent crime, since the soldiers acted as police patrolling the streets both day and night, there was much disorder of a milder type, such as drunkenness, brawling, and illicit intercourse with the squaws of Yang Na. Sergeant Javier Alvarado asserted that the "Angels" were fast becoming black.¹²

The records for the first decade of the century in Los Angeles are very meagre. Practically no important events were recorded.

In 1803 one of the first American ships to attempt trade with California, the *Lelia Byrd* under Captain Shaler, sailed along the coast, and after an altercation with the authorities at San Diego, made her way to the Sandwich Islands. She returned to California again in 1805, landed in Avalon Bay on Santa Catalina Island for repairs on May 1, 1805,¹³ and undoubtedly came across the channel into San Pedro Bay, now Los Angeles Harbor, to reprovision, for Shaler gives an excellent word picture of San Pedro Bay in his "Description of California."¹⁴

Felipe de Neve's dream of a great agricultural community was realized during the decade, for hemp raising was begun in 1805. By 1806 Los Angeles had produced 1,850 pounds of hemp, and by 1810 this had grown to a production of 173,200 pounds, far more than the vessels available could carry away. The industry however was killed by the rebellion in Mexico and the forbidding of all merchant ships to call at the Alta California ports.¹⁵

The years 1807 to 1809 were exceedingly dry, causing a great shortage of feed for livestock, so horses and cattle around Los Angeles were slaughtered by the thousand, decreasing their number to half that at the beginning of the decade.¹⁶

The Pueblo was the center of activity now between the Missions of San Gabriel and San Fernando, and the last matter of importance recorded during the first ten years of the century was an altercation between the *pobladores* of Los Angeles and the friars of San Fernando, on account of the erection by the friars of a dam at Cahuenga which cut off the water supply to the town. However, after being reprimanded by the Father President of the Missions the friars removed the dam, and good feeling was restored between the two factions, which were frequently at odds.¹⁷

But if the Pueblo dreamed through the first decade of the Nineteenth Century as the almost utter lack of records would indicate, the next ten years were full of activity and interest. The outside world was to look in, and Mexico was to succeed Spain in her influence on the little settlement by the Rio Porciúncula.

The year 1811 began with Guillermo Cota as Alcalde. This year authority was given for the erection of a chapel on the plaza of El Pueblo de Los Angeles, but nothing further was done about it until the cornerstone was laid in 1814.

In 1812, "the year of the great earthquake" in California, Los Angeles was again given matter for talk, since both San Fernando and San Gabriel missions were quite badly damaged, and San Juan Capistrano Mission to the south was almost totally destroyed, though the Pueblo itself was unharmed because the buildings were few and of but one story in height.

As we have said, all supplies from Mexico had been cut off because of the rebellion, and so contraband trade with American vessels was more or less encouraged, or at least winked at. Spanish merchantmen therefore saw an opportunity to become privateers and wax wealthy by seizing the well-laden American intruders. A captain of one of these, Nicolás Noé, captured the American merchantman *Mercury*, Captain George Washington Ayers; and it being so much better than his own vessel, he used the *Mercury* for his trading, which became so much more profitable than privateering that in 1813 Noé left several of his cannon at San Pedro with Bartolo Tapia, to make room for merchandise.¹⁸

In 1815 Governor Sola issued a strict edict against foreign trading along the coast, but this did not frighten the intrepid traders, and Boris Taranof, a Russian, became so bold that on September 19 of that year, he was captured by Alcalde Cota, and with twenty of his Aleut otter hunters lodged in jail in the Pueblo. This of course caused great excitement in the quiet little town, and is the first record of the imprisonment of a foreigner in Los Angeles.¹⁹

The year 1815 was one never to be forgotten in the Pueblo, for due to the heavy and continuous rains—it rained for ten days and ten nights with hardly an intermission—the river overflowed and changed its bed, moving over nearer the Pueblo, running along the present North Spring Street (old

San Fernando St.) to Alameda and down that street to about First and Los Angeles Street, down Los Angeles to Ninth, then west to Figueroa, and down Figueroa to the ocean about where Playa del Rey is now located. The plaza was flooded to a depth of several inches, a few houses were destroyed, and the Indian village of Yang Na was a sea of floating wickiups.²⁰

Now the Angelenos began to thirst for education, or at least for the education of their children, so the first school in Los Angeles was started in 1817 with Maximos Pina, a retired soldier, as master at a hundred and forty dollars a year. This gesture lasted about twelve months, and then for ten years the school went on vacation and the *niños* of the Pueblo "just grew."²¹

By this time *El Pueblo* had over a hundred acres of vineyard in its immediate vicinity and had established a reputation for its manufacture of wines and brandies. Governor Sola said that in 1817 there were 53,687 grape-bearing vines at Los Angeles.²²

THE NEW PLAZA

After the flood of 1815 when the plaza was inundated, it was decided to move the church to higher ground, so Governor Sola selected its present location in 1818. Now of course there must be a plaza upon which the church could face, so it was necessary to make one, and the present plaza on North Main Street was laid out at that time, taken from the pueblo common lands. There must have been some houses on the site, for in the old Pueblo Archives we find an order for a house to be torn down to make room for the plaza.

Up to 1818 the Pueblo's growth had extended northward along the hills toward the river, but after the selection of the new church site the trend was to the south, and residence sites around the plaza became the fashion among the aristocracy of the Pueblo. Before long the homes of the Tapias, the Carrillos, the Sepúlvedas, the Ávilas, the Lugos, and the Olveras surrounded the plaza.²³

The new church was begun but proceeded very slowly on account of the shortage of funds, and not until the early twenties was it ready for use.

In February, 1818, a prisoner escaped from the jail—the first time this had happened—and great was the excitement in the Pueblo.

THE FIRST FOREIGN SETTLERS ARRIVE

The year 1818, remembered always in California as *el Año de los Insurgentes* was one of real importance in the history of El Pueblo de Los Angeles. For it was the year that the first American, Joseph Chapman, called affectionately by the *paisanos* "José Huero" (Blond Joe), came to live in Los Angeles.

Bouchard "the pirate," licensed for privateering by South American insurgents, had sailed up from Peru and decided to raid the California Missions and ports. Chapman, one of his mates, was captured at Monterey

and shortly after sent to Los Angeles, where he became a valuable citizen, and married into the Ortega family.

There is a romantic story that Chapman was rescued from Bouchard's men while attempting an escape at Rufugio Rancho just above Santa Barbara, and that the Señorita Ortega who later became his wife pleaded for his life when he was about to be executed by the Californians. The tale, however, is not founded on fact, but that he was taken prisoner at Monterey is well proven.²⁴

At San Gabriel Mission he built a grist mill, and the padres, soon sensing his ability and seamanship, had him construct a ship, the first ever built in Southern California. Chapman bought a house in Los Angeles in 1824 from Agustín Machado,²⁵ and had a vineyard there of four thousand vines. Later he obtained a rancho near San Gabriel. He died about 1849, having brought credit to Americans through his upright actions at all times. His descendants still live in the Santa Maria district.

Chapman, though the first American to settle in Los Angeles, was not the first foreigner. To José Antonio Rocha goes that honor, for he arrived from Portugal in 1815, and built his home, the largest in the Pueblo at the time, on Spring Street, at the corner of Franklin. This house later became the first city hall of the American City of Los Angeles, and its site later was occupied by the Phillips Block that housed the city's first large department store, "Hamburger's."

The question of land had become one of great importance by this time; and a committee of citizens, in 1819, resented the granting of land to anyone, claiming that land so granted was the property of, and of real necessity to the Pueblo.²⁶ And from this time on, land and the land question played a part of importance in the growth and development of Los Angeles.

By 1820 the following citizens of worth had died: Francisco Reyes, Juan Olivas, Casimero Varelas, Joaquín Higuera, and Manuel Machado. I record their names here, because they had much to do with the welfare and history of the Pueblo.²⁷

At the end of the decade there were six hundred and fifty white people living in and around the Pueblo,²⁸ and for the ten years we find the alcaldes were: Guillermo Cota in 1811; Mariano Verdugo from 1812 to 1815; Antonio Maria Lugo, 1816-1818; and Anastasio Ávila from 1819 to 1821 inclusive.

The alcaldes are mentioned at the end of each decade for the purpose of showing who the people had chosen for their leaders, and because these men naturally had a strong influence on the welfare of the community.

THE CARRILLOS AND THE PICOS COME TO TOWN

The first town lot for a home was petitioned for by José Antonio Carrillo, the arch-politician of Alta California, and was granted him on June 21,

1821. This was the only town lot granted between 1781 and 1836.²⁹ This lot, which faced the plaza, at the southeast corner of the present North Main Street, is now the site of the Old Pico House hotel. Here Carrillo built his home, an adobe of no mean proportions, with a gabled tile roof. This house was long the center of social life in Los Angeles.³⁰

José Antonio Carrillo was the brain of the *gente de razon* of Southern California, and a political boss of no little ability. He was one of four brothers, the sons of Raimundo Carrillo, the founder of that famous family in California. These four sons—José Antonio, Anastasio, Carlos and Domingo—were large handsome men, all over six feet tall, and the four together weighed an even thousand pounds. The Carrillos married into nearly every prominent family of old California. José Antonio dominated affairs political in Los Angeles until the American occupation.³¹

Another prominent Californian put in his appearance at the Pueblo in 1821—Pio Pico, whose name has been inseparable from that of Los Angeles, was born at Mission San Gabriel in 1801, the son of José María Pico, and the grandson of Santiago de la Cruz Pico one of the *soldados de cuera* of the Anza expedition. Pio Pico had spent his boyhood at San Diego, to which his father had been transferred early in the century, and when twenty years of age made his first recorded trip to Los Angeles—but beat a hasty retreat when Alcalde Ávila ordered him to work in the streets. This illustrates the conditions existing in the Pueblo at the time, when even a chance visitor came under the absolute authority of the powers in office.³²

Pio Pico left the Pueblo then, but was to return ten years later at the head of government and was to remain a loyal citizen of Los Angeles for more than sixty years, for he died in 1894 at the age of ninety-three in the city he had served. Pio Pico has always been considered the original Los Angeles booster.

SMUGGLING BECOMES AN INDUSTRY

Smuggling at Los Angeles gained alarming proportions at the beginning of the 1820's. American vessels aided by the Californians used the Malibu coast, just north of Santa Monica, whose stretches of beach and many hidden canyons and palisades made it ideal for their purposes. In 1821 two prominent Spaniards of the Pueblo, Antonio Briones and Don Máximo Alanis were unfortunately caught redhanded at the forbidden traffic, and were punished by being imprisoned for six months, besides having to pay a heavy fine for the benefit of the new chapel.³³

Máximo Alanis was a prominent man in the Pueblo. He had been one of the soldiers of Spain who escorted the first settlers to Los Angeles from Mexico, and was one of those who on their retirement had chosen to settle in *El Pueblo*. In 1843, Don Máximo was granted the Rancho San José de Buenos Aires.³⁴ This rancho contained a square league of land, and on its broad acres now spread the beautiful residence districts of Bel-Air and

Westwood Hills, and on its hilltops stand the stately buildings of the University of California at Los Angeles. The adobe ranch house was on the hillside of Bel Air near the present administration buildings of that residence park.³⁵ Máximo Alanis lived to be nearly one hundred years old. His great granddaughter, Mrs. Ana Begue Packman, a leader among the descendants of the early Spanish Dons, lives in the adobe ranch house erected by Francisco Figueroa, the brother of Governor Figueroa. It stands now on the corner of Jefferson and Figueroa streets.

THE "MUY ILUSTRE AYUNTAMIENTO" GOVERNS "EL PUEBLO"

In 1822 California became a part of Iturbide's Mexican Empire. The oath of allegiance was taken April 12 at the Monterey *Junta*. José Palomares was elector from Los Angeles, and on the 8th of October in a meeting at the house of Governor Sola, an important decision was made affecting Los Angeles. *Ayuntamientos* for the pueblos of San José and Los Angeles were decided to be the best form of government, this form having previously been suggested, but up to this time neglected.³⁶

The *Ayuntamiento* had heretofore been composed of one *alcalde* and one or two *regidores*. The change suggested was the addition of a *síndico* (counsellor) and a secretary, and the removal of the Governor's *comisionado*, who till now had been the highest authority at each pueblo. Therefore Sola at once dispatched one Maitoreno to *El Pueblo abajo*, as Los Angeles was called, to assemble the *pobladores* for election of the new members, and to retire the *comisionado*. On November 7, 1822, Governor Sola was informed of the newly elected *Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento* at Los Angeles.³⁷

For the next few years the *Ayuntamiento* spent its time bringing order out of chaos. Lawlessness was growing rampant—one man was deported for "habitual rape,"³⁸ and brawling on the streets was the common diversion. But success in a measure was achieved, for in 1824 President Sarria of the Missions said the best lands and private ranchos in Alta California were at Los Angeles, and the white population of the district was a thousand souls.³⁹

AGAIN THE LOS ANGELES RIVER CHANGES ITS COURSE

Another great flood in 1825 carried the Rio de Los Angeles back to its present bed, where it has since remained, and changed its outlet to the sea from its old course through the *Ballena*, or "Ballona Rancho" as it was more commonly called, and into the ocean at Playa del Rey, to its present course into San Pedro Bay at Wilmington.

THE FIRST AMERICAN OVERLAND EXPEDITION ARRIVES

The next year saw the first American party enter California overland. For in late November, 1826, Jedediah Smith with his trappers arrived at San Gabriel Mission, and during the next few weeks he visited the Pueblo to buy horses and mules.⁴⁰

In the year 1826 Los Angeles elected as alcalde one of the outstanding Spanish members of the community, Claudio Lopez, the beloved and almost saintly mayordomo of San Gabriel Mission under Padres Salvedea and Sanchez, who seemed to be one of the few men of the Mission period who could handle the Indians without flogging them. Don Claudio built his home on *Paredon Blanco* (the White Bluff) now called Boyle Heights, across the river from the Pueblo. Don Claudio Lopez was a native of Spain and his descendants were prominent in California for years to come. One of them was the first white man to discover gold within the present limits of California.

THE FOREIGNERS LOOK AT CALIFORNIA AND MANY OF THEM STAY IN EL PUEBLO

And now the foreigner began to come into Los Angeles in earnest. In 1827 Duhaut-Cilly, the Frenchman, visited the Pueblo and was the guest of José Antonio Carrillo. His description of the town in that year is most interesting. He praised the gardens⁴¹ and vineyards, but deplored the lawlessness of the people and the inability of the authorities to maintain order. Duhaut-Cilly stated there were eighty-two houses in the town.⁴²

It was in this year that Don Juan Bandini made his first effort to have *El Pueblo* made a city and the capital of the province. Nothing however came of it then, though both dreams were realized in later years.⁴³

John Temple and George Rice, both Americans, arrived in 1827 and opened the first general merchandise store in the little town, on the site of the present Federal Building at the corner of Main and Temple streets.

The Pattie party, the second group of Americans to come overland, arrived in California in 1828, and left three of its members, Nathaniel Pryor, Jesse Ferguson, and Richard Laughlin, to swell the foreign population of Los Angeles. For a second time the world was given news of the tar pits at La Brea, mentioned first in Crespi's Diary fifty-nine years earlier, for James Ohio Pattie in his *Personal Narrative* speaks of the flat-roofed houses of Los Angeles, covered with tar that was "brought from a place within four miles of the town, where the article boils up from the earth. As the liquid rises," he says, "hollow bubbles like a shell of a large size are formed. When they burst, the noise is heard distinctly in the town."⁴⁴ The road to the tar pits then was not the Wilshire Boulevard of today, where, alas, a gunshot could hardly be heard a block above the roar of the thousands of automobiles that constantly travel its way.

On Christmas Day, 1828 the Brig *Danube* was wrecked in San Pedro Bay, and two more residents were added to the Pueblo's foreign colony. Samuel Prentice, an American, and John Groningen, the first German to become an "Angeleno," were rescued and brought into the town. Samuel Prentice became a trapper and spent much time later on the Channel Islands hunting

the sea-otter, so abundant then. Groningen settled down and married into the Feliz family. Later (about 1849) he bought the site of the Indian Village of Yang Na from the *Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento*, drove off the Indians and planted a vineyard, much to the delight of the townspeople to whom the *ranchería* had become not only an eyesore, but a menace.

The *paisanos* couldn't twist their tongues to "John Groningen," so, since he was rescued on Sunday, they christened him "Juan Domingo," and on account of an infirmity nick-named him "Juan Cojo" (Lame John).

Another prominent early American citizen of Los Angeles, Michael White, also arrived in 1828; and the Pueblo received its first French settler that year, Louis Bouchet, who became one of the leading citizens and its first foreign vineyardist.

A visitor who made a name for himself in history was Ewing Young, the trader, who brought his party to the Pueblo on a mule-buying expedition in 1830.

And so another decade ends, with a white population of a thousand. Bancroft says there were seven hundred and seventy white people in the town proper, about equally divided between men, women, and children, with about two hundred and thirty whites on the ranchos in the immediate vicinity. There were sixteen foreign residents, several of whom had married Spanish wives. These last ten years had been fat ones for the Californians, for the cattle had increased to forty thousand head around the Pueblo.⁴⁵

The *alcaldes* for the past decade were Anastasio Ávila in 1821, Manuel Gutierrez in 1822 and '23, Encarnación Urgideo in '24, José María Ávila in 1825, Claudio Lopez, 1826, Guillermo Cota in 1827, José Antonio Carrillo, 1828, Cota again in 1829, and Vicente Sanchez, "the turbulent one," in 1830.

In the ten years just past we see another name heretofore not in the public eye—that of Desiderio Ybarra, who served as *regidor* for three years, 1826 to 1828 inclusive.

The Ybarras were to become quite a part of the population of Los Angeles, and some years later a portion of San Fernando Street was called *Calle de los Ybarras* as both sides of that street for two blocks were inhabited solely by members of that prolific family.⁴⁶

THE VICTORIA REBELLION

Los Angeles was the center of the first armed revolt in Alta California, and was the scene of the first bloodshed between men of Spanish ancestry in the province.⁴⁷

Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Victoria had been appointed to succeed Governor José María Echeandía, and arrived at Monterey on January 29, 1831. He immediately began to rule in a high-handed, arrogant, and despotic manner. In a very short time the only people who were supporting him in any way at all were the priests, whose cause he had espoused. Conditions

became unbearable for the citizens, both north and south, but in Los Angeles Victoria had the allegiance of the alcalde, Vicente Sanchez, who was well known for his ability to center himself in a brawl, and was exceedingly unpopular with the townspeople. He went so far as to imprison some of the leading citizens for no real cause, and about the same time Victoria had ordered deported two very prominent men, José Antonio Carrillo, a leading citizen of the Pueblo, and Abel Stearns, an American, who though he had been a resident of California for but three years was already a leader among the people. Stearns was later to become a resident of Los Angeles and its wealthiest citizen.

The people of the south decided that Victoria must be deposed, or there would be no peace in the land. About the 1st of December a small force of rebels was gathered in San Diego under Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, José Antonio Carrillo, and Abel Stearns, who after some little difficulty persuaded Captain de la Portilla to lead them, and with about fifty men set out for the north to overthrow the tyrant, arriving at Los Angeles on December 4, 1831, to find that such prominent men as Pio Pico's brother Andrés, Tomás Talamantes, Francisco Sepúlveda, José Maria Ávila, José Aguilar, Demisio Dominguez, Máximo Alanis, and the two *regidores*, Alvarado and Perez, had been thrown in jail by Alcalde Vicente Sanchez. This so added to their indignation that the rebels freed the prisoners and jailed Sanchez.⁴⁸

The released prisoners immediately joined the rebel army, but a brother of the alcalde had slipped out of the Pueblo and carried the news to Victoria at San Fernando, where the Governor had gone on receiving word that trouble was brewing in the south.

Victoria had gather a very small force for his southern march to stamp out the rebellion, relying with his usual arrogance on his ability to handle any emergency. There were only about thirty men under his command, among them Captain Romualdo Pacheco, who had joined him at Santa Barbara. Pacheco was a fearless, handsome young officer of charming manner. He was the father of an infant son, his namesake, who in after years was to become Governor of California under the American flag.

Immediately upon receiving news of the rebel advance, Victoria hurried south from San Fernando, and at the same time, Portilla's little army, now augmented to about a hundred and fifty men, five times the size of Victoria's force, started toward San Fernando Mission, and on the morning of the 5th the two forces met near Cahuenga Pass.⁴⁹

A short but bloody battle ensued. Victoria in his usual haughty manner advanced alone, and demanded that Captain de Portilla come over to his side with his army; but due to threats from Carrillo, Portilla refused. Upon this, Victoria ordered his men to fire on the rebels, but the shots were probably intentionally aimed above their opponents' heads, and did no harm. At this moment Pacheco rode forward alone on a beautiful black charger;

and from the rebels, as though the battle were to be decided by single combat in David and Goliath style, dashed José María Ávila, a man of herculean stature, a dare-devil by reputation, and considered one of the best horsemen in Los Angeles. Ávila had armed himself with an improvised lance, and believing that Pacheco was challenging to single combat, rode straight toward him with lance leveled.

All other operations ceased at this sudden turn of affairs. Pacheco swerved to avoid the thrust and Ávila was carried past by the impetus of the charge, but turned immediately and, drawing his pistol, shot Pacheco through the heart. Then turmoil began in general, and Victoria, seeing his chief aide shot down, rushed at Ávila and killed him. Now, Tomás Talamantes, a nephew of Ávila, came at Victoria, and would certainly have killed him with his saber, had not the blow been warded off by one of Victoria's men. As it was, he inflicted a terrible cut on Victoria's head that was long in healing, but Talamantes himself was unhurt.

Victoria's men attempted no further attack, and Portilla's little band wended its way sorrowfully back to the Pueblo, carrying the bodies of Ávila and Pacheco, who were buried the next day in Los Angeles, where both had been well loved and popular.

Victoria himself was carried to San Gabriel Mission where his wounds were treated. Had he not been wounded, Victoria would probably have taken Los Angeles without difficulty, for all the fight had been taken out of the rebels.

Almost at once after this affair, Victoria surrendered to Echeándia, who called a *diputación* to assemble at Los Angeles and decide who should be made political and military commander of Alta California.

Ávila and Talamantes alone had deposed the Governor of California, for all the others involved in the rebellion had contributed words only.⁵⁰

OUTSTANDING PIONEERS OF 1831

Three outstanding pioneers arrived in the Pueblo in the year 1831. William Wolfskill, from New Mexico; Jonathan Trumbull Warner, a trapper, who had been a member of one of Jedediah Smith's companies; and Louis Vignes, the Frenchman. Each of these men made a lasting name for himself in the Pueblo and the state.

William Wolfskill married into the Lugo family and was affectionately known as "Don Guillermo" by the native Californians. His home, an adobe of some distinction, stood on the present site of the Southern Pacific Arcade Depot, and here he had a large orchard that covered all the land between Fourth and Seventh streets, and extended from Alameda Street west to San Pedro Street. Here in 1841, he planted the second orange orchard in California other than those of the Missions, and was the first man in Alta California to raise oranges commercially.⁵¹

Jonathan Trumbull Warner, renamed Juan José by the Californians, was on account of his great height, called "*Juan Largo*" (Long John). He kept a store in the Pueblo and later acquired the famous ranch in San Diego County, which is still called Warner's Ranch. A further nickname for Warner, on account of his initials, J. J., was given him by the Spanish citizens of the town, who almost invariably referred to him as "*Jota Jota*," the Spanish pronunciation of the two letters. Warner took an active part in all affairs of the Pueblo until old age and blindness caused him to retire. Until the late eighties he had a home on the site of the old Burbank Theatre on Main Street between 5th and 6th, and died in the middle nineties well toward a hundred years of age.

Louis Vignes has the distinction of having been the first man to raise oranges outside the Missions in California, having planted trees on his home place in 1834.⁵² Vignes was called "*Aliso Viejo*" by the *paisanos*, on account of the gigantic Sycamore tree that stood in front of his home on the street that also derived its name from that tree. This tree stood directly in front of the present Maier Brewery, which was built on the site of Louis Vignes's winery. The old tree stood until the late eighties, when it died, and in 1890, the writer walked past the dead trunk that still stood about twenty feet high, though all its branches had been removed. This trunk was taken out later to allow for additions to the brewery.

William Heath Davis says that Louis Vignes was the father of the wine industry in California,⁵³ and in 1858 the advertisement of his nephews, the Sainsevains, appeared in the San Francisco City Directory offering wines from "their celebrated vineyard of El Aliso, in Los Angeles," they having inherited old Don Luis's property.

PIO PICO, THE GOVERNOR

From the year 1831, Pio Pico made his residence in Los Angeles until his death.

After the retirement of Victoria, the *Diputación* met at Los Angeles, on January 10, 1832. Pio Pico as senior *vocal* assumed the presidency, and after much discussion he was nominated *jefe político* on the 11th, and on the 27th of the month took the oath of office, having waited in vain for Echeándia to come up from San Diego. The *Ayuntamiento* of Los Angeles however refused to recognize him as Governor, and Echeándia refused to come to Los Angeles to affirm the choice of the assembly, and after waiting in silence until February 12, Echeándia openly declared Pico incompetent, and threatened to surrender his own office, claiming a great wrong had been done him by the act of the *Diputación*.

Pico acted with dignity under all this outburst, and rather than cause ill feeling among the people of California, some of whom supported him, while others did not, he relinquished all claim to the office of Governor, and the assembly suspended its session on the 17th of February, 1832.

Thus for twenty days only, Pio Pico was Governor of California in name, and the Pueblo of Los Angeles enjoyed calling itself the capital of Alta California for the same period.⁵⁴

MORE AMERICAN PIONEERS, 1832

Isaac Williams, Lemuel Carpenter, and Moses Carson arrived in the Pueblo in 1832.

Isaac Williams was one of Ewing Young's trappers and a native of New York. After settling in Los Angeles he was baptised "Julián" and was known as "Don Julián" by all. He married the daughter of Antonio María Lugo, and became the owner of the famous Rancho Santa Ana del Chino, about fifty miles east of the Pueblo on the highway of the southern route to California.

Moses Carson was a brother of the renowned Kit Carson, and lived in Los Angeles for a number of years, became notoriously famous as a horse racer, and for some of his practices was dubbed "the sorcerer" by the *paisanos*.

Lemuel Carpenter also came with the Ewing Young party, married into the well-known Dominguez family, and became a great land owner, obtaining the Santa Gertrudis Rancho where the city of Downey now stands. Carpenter was the first man in California to manufacture soap commercially, and in 1833 operated *una jabonería* (soap factory) on the west side of Río Hondo, just south of Telegraph Road.⁵⁵ He was quite prominent and took part in many activities until his death in 1859.

Again *El Pueblo* desired to "be educated" and in 1833 a school was maintained by Vicente Moraga, who received the magnificent salary of \$15 a month from the town.

Matters at this time were beginning to take on a varied complexion. The influence of these "*gringos*" was being felt in both domestic and political affairs. In most cases the American strengthened his position by marrying into one of the better families, and living more or less in the manner of the native Californian. In some instances the Americans aroused the suspicion of such men as Pio Pico and José Antonio Carrillo, who held aloof from them.

HUGO REID

About this time, or to be exact, in the early part of 1834, there arrived at Los Angeles one of the most interesting and picturesque characters the Pueblo was to see and a man who will live always in the pages of Los Angeles history.

This man, Hugo Reid, a Scotch merchant, came to the Pueblo disheartened and disillusioned. He had been jilted by his betrothed on the very eve of their marriage. He had almost ruined himself, trying to drown in drink his sorrow over the loss of his "Victoria," for that was the name of the lady who had proved faithless to him—and in his rum-dulled mind he had made a vow

that he'd marry the first girl he found named "Victoria," who would have him.

Of wealth he had enough, but of happiness, when he reached Los Angeles, he had none. As most of the visitors did who came to the Pueblo, he paid a visit to the old Mission at San Gabriel, and while there his attention was attracted to a very fine-looking Indian maiden, whose name, he discovered upon asking, was "Victoria." Now he remembered his vow, and though she was of another race he asked her to be his bride. She consented, and made him, as time proved, a good wife.

Hugo Reid built his Indian bride a home, better than the average, and furnished it handsomely, for he was a man of taste and education, and to him belongs the honor of bringing the first private library to Southern California.

Through contact with his wife's people, Reid learned more of the lore of the Indians of Southern California than had any other man, and he put his knowledge to good use by writing a series of twenty-two letters to the *Los Angeles Star*, the pioneer newspaper of the Pueblo, giving the folk-lore and characteristics of the Indians of Los Angeles County. The first twelve of these letters have been reprinted several times in county histories and elsewhere, but due to the fact that the last ten dealt with the mistreatment of the Indians by the Mission padres, they had been rigidly suppressed until the last few years, when for the first and only time a complete set of these letters was privately printed in book form in 1926, by Mr. Andrew M. Ellis of Los Angeles. Thus for the first time the libraries of the state had available these valuable documents for the student of California history and ethnology.

Hugo Reid died in 1852, the year that he wrote these letters, and his name will live always with that of early Los Angeles, in which he played his part.

DON ABEL STEARNS

Just before the arrival of Hugo Reid, Abel Stearns, who had come to California from Massachusetts in 1828, made his home in Los Angeles, settling here in 1833. Don Abel and Hugo Reid became fast friends, since both were men of like tastes, and this friendship lasted up to the death of the latter.

Before the American occupation Abel Stearns had become the wealthiest and most influential man in the southern part of the state. He very early married Señorita Arcadia, the daughter of Don Juan Bandini, and to strengthen his position with the Californians became a Mexican citizen, though his sympathies were always with the country of his birth. We shall hear much of his as the Pueblo grows.

JACOB P. LEESE

Another settler of note to arrive in 1833 was Jacob P. Leese, who entered into the merchandise business with Hugo Reid and William Keith, who had been a physician in Sonora, Mexico. Leese remained in Los Angeles until 1835, when he moved to Monterey, and from there to San Francisco, or

Yerba Buena, as it was then called, where he became one of the earliest American settlers, and a man of considerable prominence.⁵⁶

THE HIJAR COLONISTS

In the year 1834 several members of the Híjar and Padrés colony became residents of the Pueblo. Among these was Victor Prudhomme, who came as an educator, but soon was secretary to both Governor Alvarado and General Vallejo, though he later settled down in Los Angeles and married a daughter of Don Tiburcio Tapia. Through his wife he became owner of the Ranchos Topanga Málibu and Cucamonga.

Other settlers among the colonists were José María Covarrubias, Agustín Olvera, and Ygnacio Coronel, with his son, Antonio Franco, who was to become a leader both in the Pueblo and later in the American city of Los Angeles, serving as *alcalde* in one and mayor in the other.

THE APALATEGUI REVOLT

The next year Los Angeles was to be the center of another rebellion, though a short-lived one. Sympathizers of Híjar, who had been heartily disappointed at the revocation of his appointment as Governor of California before he could reach its soil with his colonists, decided to overthrow the Figueroa government. They therefore had gathered at Los Nietos Rancho, about where the little city of Downey now stands, and under two Mexicans, a cobbler and a cigarmaker, they marched on *El Pueblo*, and on the morning of March 7, 1835, entered the town and demanded of *Alcalde* Alvarado that the Pueblo be turned over to them and that it aid them in the removal of Figueroa as Governor. Alvarado called together the *Ayuntamiento*, who after much debate and reasoning with the cobbler and cigarmaker, caused them to lose heart and in turn deliver the two instigators of the plot, Antonio Apalátegui, a Spanish clerk, and Francisco Torres, a Mexican apothecary, over to the Angelenos, who immediately jailed them.

After some months, however, these two were sent back to Mexico, and all other members of the band were unconditionally pardoned. So died another revolt, for the quick action of the authorities of Los Angeles discouraged similar uprisings that had been planned in other sections of the province.⁵⁷

LOS ANGELES BECOMES A CITY, 1835

On the 23rd day of May, 1835, Mexico by official decree made *El Pueblo de Los Angeles* a city. And alas! for the feelings of the residents of northern California, the *pronunciamento* stated "that *el Pueblo de Los Angeles* in Alta California is raised to a *ciudad* (city) and shall be for the future the capital of that territory."

Of course Monterey opposed the removal of the capital, and this was the beginning of the "capital controversy" that was carried on for the next ten years and caused unending turmoil between the factions of the north and the south.⁵⁸

Into the *Ciudad de Los Angeles* that year came another American settler of importance, Henry Mellus, who had sailed before the mast on the *Pilgrim* with Richard Henry Dana, Jr., but had left the ship to become its agent and settled in Los Angeles. He was the founder of the house of Mellus and Howard in Yerba Buena, but made his home in Los Angeles, his enterprises extending up and down the coast.

CALIFORNIA'S FIRST VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

To the Californian today, "Vigilance Committee" and "San Francisco" are synonymous, for the average citizen of the state does not know that fifteen years before the first Committee of Vigilance of San Francisco was organized, the first vigilance committee in California was formed, functioned successfully, and disbanded quietly in the city of Los Angeles.⁵⁹

Domingo Félix, who lived on the rancho bearing his name, near the town, was married to María del Rosario Villa. She had abandoned her husband to become the mistress of a Sonoran vaquero by the name of Gervasio Alipás, at San Gabriel. After trying in every way for two years to persuade his wife to give up her wicked alliance and return to him, Félix invoked the aid of the authorities, and the errant wife was arrested and brought to the Pueblo on March 24, 1836.

A reconciliation was effected through the efforts of friends, though Alipás and his brother threatened vengeance for the loss of his mistress, and the reunited couple started for their home on the rancho on one horse, as was the custom in old California. They had gone but a short distance, however, when Félix was stabbed in the back by the wife's lover, and his body dragged by the man and the woman, with a reata, to a ravine, where the two covered it with leaves.

On the 29th of March the body was found and both murderers were arrested. Naturally the excitement in the town ran high, both on account of the foulness of the crime and the high esteem in which the murdered man was held. Conditions looked so threatening that on April 1 the *Ayuntamiento* asked that all good citizens aid the authorities in preserving the peace.

No citizen however could be induced to follow these instructions, for they all felt that justice should be meted out and punishment inflicted at once upon the guilty couple, for they knew full well there was no tribunal in California authorized to inflict the death penalty on a civilian.

At daybreak therefore, on the 7th of April, 1836, about fifty of the most prominent men of the city met at the home of Don Juan Temple, and organized a *junta defensora de la seguridad pública*. Victor Prudhomme was chosen president, Manuel Arzaga, secretary, and Francisco Araujo was appointed commander of the armed force.

About two o'clock in the afternoon a demand that the prisoners be delivered to the citizens within the hour was sent to Alcalde Manuel Requena,

but the *Ayuntamiento* paid no attention to the demand and turned their attention to some trivial matter.

Half an hour later the band of armed citizens marched out in front of the public hall and the jail, and at three o'clock the alcalde was notified that the hour had terminated. Now the *Ayuntamiento*, after sending two delegations to reason with the citizens, decided not to turn over the prisoners, and the Secretary of the *Ayuntamiento*, Narciso Botello, having refused to give up the keys to the jail, they were taken from him, with little resistance on his part.

The prisoners were taken from the jail and shot, Alipás at four thirty in the afternoon, and the woman half an hour later. The committee had acted none too soon, for it was discovered that Alipás had his shackles nearly filed off. In true vigilance committee style the bodies were exposed at the jail door for two hours, and then placed at the disposal of the authorities. Their work was over, and after offering their services to the alcalde to aid in preserving law and order, the band of fifty of the best citizens in Los Angeles, including fourteen foreigners, disbanded.

On account of the importance of the affair, its effect on the criminal element of the town, and the trite but expressive wording of the demand of the committee, there is given here a translation of the entries made in the old archives, well preserved in the office of the Los Angeles City Recorder.⁶⁰

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF APRIL 7TH, 1836

There was read a copy of a petition signed by Don Victor Prudon as President and Don Manuel Arzaga as Secretary, with the copied signatures of many citizens, who it seems held a meeting. And it was seen that many armed citizens stood opposite the city hall. The said petition was that the Judges order the execution of Gerbasio Alipás, and Ma. del Rosario Villa, the first for the murder of Domingo Félix, and the second for being an accomplice to said murder. The petition also stated that in case the three Judges do not desire to execute said persons, they be delivered to petitioners, that they may do so. In view of the foregoing petition, this Illustrious *Ayuntamiento* decided to publish an ordinance prohibiting the selling of fermented liquors, and appointed for this purpose a committee composed of the Second Alcalde, the First Regidor, and the City Attorney, and who were also commissioned to go out and find out what the armed citizens opposite the city hall desired. Said committee returned and reported that they desired that their petition be granted.

This Illustrious Body immediately decided to call said Victor Prudon to appear before this body and compel him to retire with the armed citizens so that this Illustrious Body may deliberate in peace. This was done, but he declined to appear before this body, as he and the armed citizens were determined to obtain said Gerbasio Alipás and Ma. del Rosario Villa. This Illustrious *Ayuntamiento* seeing that they did not have a sufficient number of men to compete with the armed citizens, they being composed of the most valuable and largest number of the citizens of this city, decided to send a communication stating that the judges could not accede to their request.

After which the meeting adjourned, and the minutes were signed by all the members present, after the communication above mentioned had been added and also [a

resolution] that a copy of the minutes and communication be forwarded to the Superior Political Chief.

(Signed:) MANUEL REQUENA, President.

Tiburcio Tapia.

Rafaél Guirado.

Nepomuceno Albarado.

Felipe Lugo.

José Ma. Herrera.

Abel Stearns.

Narciso Botello, Secty.

MEETING OF THE PUBLIC SAFETY, HELD AT THE HOUSE OF DON JUAN TEMPLE

I have the honor to forward you a copy of a petition signed by the citizens whose names appear at the end, for the purpose therein mentioned, and addressing same to you, [and] in the name of said citizens, I reiterate the most profound respect and attention for you. God and Liberty, April 7, 1836.

(Signed) VICTOR PRUDON, President.

MANUEL ARZAGA, Secty.

To the 1st Constitutional Alcalde of the City.

Salus populi suprema lex est

The undersigned citizens summoned to meet by the rest of the citizens of this jurisdiction who are justly indignant at the horrible crime committed on the person of the late Domingo Félix, which brings to the mind the frequent similar crimes perpetrated in this city, consider that the main cause of these numerous crimes is the excessive delay of the laws in criminal cases, as the capital punishment of a person cannot take place until the Supreme Court of Mexico confirms the same. The same being very distant, it naturally follows that the punishment is indefinitely delayed. This exasperates the public and brings it into a state of anarchy, using strength in order to execute the law. In order to check these numerous and horrible crimes, a solemn example must be given, and we ask you to execute, or deliver to us for immediate execution, the aforesaid Gerbasio Alipás, and the unfaithful Ma. del Rosario Villa, his accomplice—this abominable monstrosity who sacrificed her husband that she might enjoy the unmoral appetite which she craved, for Nature trembles at sight of this venomous reptile, and the soil turns barren in its refusal to support their detestable existence. Let this infernal pair perish. It is the will of the people. We shall not lay down our arms while our petition is not granted and the murders not executed.

The proof of their guilt is so clear that justice needs no investigation. The public requires an example and also revenge, and must be satisfied. The blood of the Álvares, the Patinos, the Jenkins, and the unfortunate victim is not yet cold, they also being the unfortunate victims of the brutal passions of their murderers. Their bloody ghosts are clamoring for vengeance. This voice re-echoes in their graves. The afflicted widow, the forsaken orphans, the ancient father, the brother in mourning, the inconsolable mother, the public, all desire a speedy and solemn vengeance. We swear the public will be avenged today, or die in the attempt.

The blood of the murderers must be shed today, or ours will [be shed] until the last drop. It will be published throughout the world that the judges in Los Angeles tolerate murderers, but that there are virtuous citizens who sacrifice their lives in order to insure those of their countrymen.

A committee will deliver to the 1st Constitutional Alcalde a copy of these resolutions that he may decide whatever he finds most convenient, and an hour's time will

be given him in which to do so. If in that time no answer has been received, then the Judges will be responsible before God and the public for what might follow.

Death to the murderers!

City of Los Angeles, April 7, 1836. (Signed:) JOSÉ FRANCISCO FÉLIZ, and 54 others.

MEETING OF THE DEFENDERS OF THE PUBLIC SAFETY

The limit of one hour allowed you in which to give [consideration to] our petition having elapsed, the meeting informs you that an immediate answer is desired. If it is not forthcoming, the meeting shall be obliged to take extraordinary measures. It is absolutely necessary that you deliver to this meeting, the key of the apartment wherein María del Rosario Villa is kept. God and Liberty.

To the 1st Constitutional Alcalde.

(Signed:) VICTOR PRUDON.

MANUEL ARZAGA.

To M. Victor Prudon:

María del Rosario Villa is incarcerated at a private dwelling whose owner has the key with instructions not to deliver same to anyone. The prisoner is left there at the disposition of the law only. God and Liberty.

Los Angeles, April 7, 1836.

(Signed:) MANUEL REQUENA.

The foregoing is abstracted from the Secretary's Book of this tribunal of this city, page 22, which I certify as Secretary of the Illustrious Ayuntamiento, in charge of the Archives of the said Tribunal.

(Signed:) NARCISCO BOTELLO, Secretary.

MEETING OF THE DEFENDERS OF THE PUBLIC SAFETY

To the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento*:

The dead bodies of Gerbasio Alipás and María del Rosario Villa are at your disposal for burial. We also forward you the jail keys that you may deliver them to whomsoever is on guard. In case you are in need of men to serve as guard, we are all at your disposal. God and Liberty. April 7, 1836.

(Signed:) VICTOR PRUDON, President,

MANUEL ARZAGA, Secty.

THE PADRON OF 1836

The first census of Los Angeles was made in 1836. This interesting document now lies in the vaults of the city recorder, and is well worth study. It was the first attempt to analyze the white population, or *gente de razón*, and shows 603 men, 421 women, and 651 children in the Los Angeles district. The *Padrón* shows property owners, laborers, widows, and widowers, and gives the age and nativity of each.

One physician is shown in this census—Dr. John Marsh, who came that year. His fees were paid in hides only, the "California banknotes" of that day, so that, after accumulating so many fees that he had to build a building to hold them, he decided to move north and become a ranchero himself. His rancho, near Mt. Diablo, was well known to the early pioneers, and a ren-

devious for new arrivals. "Doctor" Marsh was a well educated man, and a Harvard graduate, though not a graduate from a medical school. He used his Harvard diploma to dupe the people of California who could not read Latin and looked with awe upon the "Doctor," who had studied some medicine after leaving college.⁶¹

While the Indians were given no place of importance in the *Padrón* of 1836, they were still much in evidence, causing confusion as usual among the better people, and the town records show that on June 9 Don Rafael Guirado, chairman of the committee on *zanjas*, stated that he had received so many complaints from citizens owning homes on the *zanja* below the *ranchería*, of the filthy condition of the water due to the Indians bathing therein, that the *Ayuntamiento* ordered all Indians who wished to bathe, to run the water off to a bathing place, that such offenses might not again be reported.⁶² This matter of bathing in the *zanjas* caused considerable controversy for many years, and many amusing tales are told of circumstances most ludicrous arising from this same cause among the better classes as well.

In 1837 Alcalde Gil Ybarra was in much the same dilemma in which Dr. Marsh had found himself, for the financial stringency of the year was so great that he was compelled to take country produce for fines. He told the *Ayuntamiento* that he had already received eight colts, nine bushels of corn, and thirty hides. The syndic immediately laid claim to the colts for his back salary. The alcalde put in a preferred claim of his own for money advanced to pay the salary of the Secretary, and besides he said he had boarded the colts. After considerable discussion, the alcalde was ordered to turn the collateral over to the city Treasurer for appraisal and to be paid out on claims against the city. In the meantime it was discovered that two of the colts had run away, and the remaining six had demonetized the corn, by eating it up.⁶³

CAPITAL HOPES OF LOS ANGELES BOOSTED BY THE CARRILLOS

Again the hopes of Los Angeles to become the capital had some encouragement, when on October 30, 1837, Carlos Carrillo, through efforts of his brother, José Antonio, was declared Governor of Alta California, and Los Angeles to be the capital. But Alvarado refused to turn over the reins to him, or relinquish the office, so Carrillo abandoned his claim, and the status of holding the office of Governor was similar to that of Pio Pico's some five years before.⁶⁴ The hopes of Los Angeles were again dashed to earth, for Alvarado was declared Governor by Mexico in 1838.

REVOLT AGAIN IN LOS ANGELES

Again in April 1838 Los Angeles awakened one morning to find the plaza filled with troops, this time under one Espinoza, sent into the city under cover of night to arrest any or all citizens who might have been engaged in a plot to overthrow Alvarado and replace Carrillo in power. Houses were searched for suspected persons and quite a number were arrested, among

them José Antonio Carrillo, Andrés Pico, Pio Pico, Alcalde Gil Ybarra, and others. There was but one casualty: the arm of J. J. Warner (Juan Largo) being broken by one of the invaders, when he denied being able to tell them where Pio Pico could be found.⁶⁵

But war and revolt were not the only things on the minds of the people of *La Ciudad de los Angeles*, for this year a school was started in earnest by one who at last was competent. Don Ygnacio Coronel, a man of education and refinement, opened a school in his home. This house stood at the head of Los Angeles Street and blocked that street's entrance to the plaza. It faced on the present Arcadia Street, and the house was later torn down to permit the opening of Los Angeles Street to the north. Later he conducted his school in one of the buildings of the Plaza Church.

Don Ygnacio's school may well be called the first school in the town, since the two previous attempts amounted to but little.

MORE SMUGGLING BY THE "ANGELS"

Little of importance occurred now until 1840, when Don Abel Stearns was arrested for smuggling operations at San Pedro. So we see that *los Americanos* played at that game as well as had the "*Californios*" some years before; nor had the clergy's skirts been clean, for even the venerable Padre Sanchez of San Gabriel had been charged with that infraction of the law in 1828, and had been only saved from further embarrassment by Don Máximo Alanis, who took the punishment for him.⁶⁶

The decade from 1830 to 1840 had been a stormy one for the little city, and here are the men who piloted her through her vicissitudes: Tiburcio Tapia, who succeeded Vicente Sanchez as alcalde in 1831, and the following alcaldes—for 1832, Manuel Dominguez; 1833, José Antonio Carrillo; 1834, José Perez; 1835, Francisco Javier Alvarado; 1836, Manuel Requena; 1837, Gil Ybarra; 1838, Luís Arenas; while in 1839 Tiburcio Tapia was made Prefect for the southern district, followed by Santiago Argüello in 1840.

So ends the decade, no one dreaming that before another ten years rolled by another flag would fly over the dreamy little *ciudad*, and that that flag would be the Stars and Stripes of the hated "*Gringos*."

THE ROARING FORTIES

The Fabulous Forties came into Los Angeles with a roar, and the roar continued on through the American conquest.

The first immigration party of any importance arrived in the little city in 1841—twenty-five in number, headed by William Workman and John Rowland, from New Mexico. Others of the party who became influential citizens of Los Angeles were B. D. Wilson and D. W. Alexander.

B. D. Wilson, so often referred to by the Americans as "The Pioneer of Pioneers," and by the native Californians as "Don Benito," probably held as much influence over the people of Los Angeles, from the time of his

arrival until his death, as did any man who came to California. He married Ramona, the daughter of Bernardo Yorba, a Don of the California-Spanish aristocracy. Mount Wilson was named for him, and at his home, "Lake Vineyard," on the site of the present town of San Marino, where today stands the world-famed Huntington Library, "Don Benito" held forth and dispensed hospitality to nearly every visitor of note for a period of many years.

John Rowland settled on Ranch Puente, which was granted to him and to William Workman on July 22, 1845. William Workman became a factor in the business life of Los Angeles.

With the Workman-Rowland Party came William Knight, for whom Knight's Landing on the Sacramento River was named, and where he eventually settled.⁶⁷

Joseph Walker and a party of twelve trappers arrived in Los Angeles in February 1841. Walker, for whom Walker's Pass across the high Sierras was named, was probably the first white man to gaze upon Yosemite Valley.⁶⁸

F. P. F. Temple arrived this year by boat from Massachusetts, and joined his brother Don Juan Temple, the pioneer American merchant, in business. The new arrival, called "Templito" by the Californians on account of his stature, was later to organize the first bank of the city, with S. W. Hellman and William Workman.

LOS ANGELES IS EXPLOITED

Horticulture in California received its greatest impetus in 1841, when William Wolfskill planted the first real orange orchard in the state in Los Angeles—two acres of seedling trees, eventually increased to a hundred acres.

This first year of the forties saw the first booster go out of Los Angeles to exploit her advantages and opportunities. Colonel J. J. Warner made a trip through the States, lecturing on California and Los Angeles at Rochester, New York and at other points, and advocating as well the building of a trans-continental railroad and the acquisition of California for the United States.⁶⁹

THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

As Los Angeles was the scene of the first Vigilance Committee in California, to be overshadowed later by those of San Francisco, so was she to be the scene of the first gold discovery in California, for that important event occurred about thirty-five miles from Los Angeles, on March 9, 1842, six years before Marshall's epoch-making discovery at Sutter's Mill on the American River.

On the morning of March 9, 1842, Francisco Lopez, mayordomo of the San Francisquito Rancho and a brother of Don Pedro Lopez, manager of the Mission San Fernando, with a companion had been rounding up some horses in a canyon, now known as Placeritos, located on the rancho about half way between the present towns of Newhall and Saugus. At noon, when

about four miles up the canyon, they rested under the shade of an old gnarled oak tree. Seeing some wild onions a short distance away, Lopez took out his knife and began to dig them up, and while doing so, to his great surprise he noticed a small nugget that looked like gold hanging to the roots of the plant. After a short search more of the nuggets were found, and these he brought into the Pueblo, where his friend Abel Stearns pronounced his find—gold.

Abel Stearns sent these nuggets, with other gold taken from these placers to the Mint at Philadelphia, by Alfred Robinson, the author of *Life in California*, on November 22, 1842. This was the first shipment of gold ever sent from the present limits of California to the United States.

These facts are substantiated by a letter from Abel Stearns, written to Louis R. Lull, who was Secretary of the Society of Pioneers in San Francisco, and now in the archives of that society. I give the letter in full on account of the controversy over the location and the date of the discovery—

Louis R. Lull, Esq.,

Los Angeles, July 8, 1867.

Secretary of the Society of Pioneers, San Francisco.

Sir: On my arrival here from San Francisco, some days since, I received your letter of June 3rd, last past, requesting the certificate of assay of gold sent by me to the Mint at Philadelphia in 1842. I find by referring to my old account books that November 22nd, 1842, I sent by Alfred Robinson, Esq., (who returned from California to the States by way of Mexico), twenty ounces California weight (18¾ ounces Mint weight) of placer gold, to be forwarded by him to the U. S. Mint at Philadelphia for assay.

In his letter to me, dated August 6th, 1843, you will find a copy from the Mint assay of the gold, which letter I herewith enclose to you to be placed in the archives of the Society.

The placer mines from which this gold was taken were first discovered by Francisco Lopez, a native of California, in the month of March, 1842, called San Francisquito, about thirty-five miles north west from this city (Los Angeles).

The circumstances of the discovery by Lopez, as related by him, are as follows: Lopez, with a companion, was out in search of some stray horses, and about midday they stopped under some trees and tied their horses out to feed, they resting under the shade; when Lopez with a sheath knife dug up some wild onions, and in the dirt discovered a piece of gold, and searching further found some more. He brought these to town, and showed them to his friends, who at once declared there must be a placer of gold. This news being circulated, numbers of the citizens went to the place and commenced prospecting the neighborhood, and found it to be a fact that there was a placer of gold. After being satisfied most persons returned; some remained, particularly *Sonorenses* (Sonorians), who were accustomed to work in placers. They met with good success.

From this time the placers were worked with more or less success and principally by *Sonorenses* (Sonorians), until the latter part of 1846, when most of the *Sonorenses* left with Captain Flores for Sonora.

While worked there was some six or eight thousand dollars taken out per annum.

Very respectfully yours,

ABEL STEARNS.

Here I also give excerpts from a letter written by Alfred Robinson to Abel Stearns from New York, on August 6, 1843, in regard to the same shipment:

My Dear D. Abel:—

New York, August 6th, 1843.

I embrace this opportunity of the sailing of a ship from Boston to address you a few lines, and therein to inform you of the result of your shipment of gold, which is as follows, as per statement from the Mint at Philadelphia:

"Memorandum of gold bullion deposited the 8th day of July, 1843, at the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Grant & Stone, of weight and value as follows:

"Before melting, 18 34-100 oz.; fineness, 926-1,000; value \$344.75; deduct expenses, sending to Philadelphia and agency there, \$4.02; net, \$340.73."

. . . and believe me, your friend,

ROBINSON.

To establish further the actual date of discovery, as well as the spot, we know that on the first anniversary of the discovery of gold in Placeritos Canyon, an altar was built on the identical spot of the first discovery, and Padre Blas Ordaz of the Mission of San Fernando celebrated high mass at this altar on March 9, 1843. The choristers and neophytes from the Mission sang and played at the mass, and many people came from Los Angeles and the neighboring ranchos to attend the ceremony.⁷⁰

But the gold of the south, like its vigilance committee, was overshadowed by the discoveries in the north, and while a considerable amount of gold was taken from the Southern California placers, all activity practically ceased when the tremendous deposits of the rare metal were discovered on the Mother Lode and in the Northern Mines.

During this momentous year of 1842 there arrived in Los Angeles a Pennsylvanian, Alexander Bell, who had lived some years in Mexico City. He built the largest adobe in the town, a two-story building, at the southeast corner of Los Angeles and Aliso Streets, called by the natives, "Bell's Row." This building and its owner were to play important rôles in the history of *El Pueblo*.

THE "FAME" OF LOS ANGELES

With the various events just described, the world began to hear of Los Angeles, and its reputation was not always savory, for an early traveler, in 1842, while not visiting the town himself, records in the narrative of his travels, that:

The pueblo of *Nuestra Señora* . . . contains a population of one thousand five hundred souls, and is the noted abode of the lowest drunkards and gamblers of the country. This den of thieves is situated, as one may expect from its being almost twice as populous as the two other pueblos taken together, in one of the loveliest and most fertile districts of California; and being, therefore, one of the best marts in the province for hides and tallow, it induces vessels to brave all the inconveniences and dangers of the open and exposed bay of San Pedro.⁷¹

This traveler, a man of renown, likens Los Angeles to the fabled Circe. But if some of the early visitors saw only the bad side of Los Angeles,

we know that those who had entree to the better homes and knew the better people, such as the Requenas, the del Valles, the Tapias, Sepulvedas, the Lopez family, and the Coronels, saw a different picture, as is evidenced by Alfred Robinson, in his *Life in California*, and William Heath Davis in his *Sixty Years in California*. Both of these men knew Los Angeles well, in the forties. And Don José Arnaz, a Spanish ranchero, and man of worth, said in his *Recuerdos de un Comerciante*, given Bancroft in 1878,⁷² that the people of Los Angeles were very zealous in their religious observances, and generally speaking were a moral people.

Los Angeles has been referred to often during the Spanish and Mexican period as the wickedest town in Alta California. This could be very true under any circumstances, for since there were no other settlements in the province besides Monterey and San José that could be called towns in the true sense, and since Los Angeles was as large as the two put together, it could well be either the worst or the best town, whichever one wished to call it, this being clearly shown by the old Spanish priest's answer to the inquisitive young Americano's question, put to him as they were coming down the coast by boat from San Francisco, later in the forties, bound for the southern city:

"Father, is it true that the people of Los Angeles are angels?" To which the old man replied in Spanish, "*Hijo mío, hay ángeles de Cielo, y hay ángeles de Infierno*. In Los Angeles you will find both."

Foreigners at this time began to refer to Los Angeles as "Angeles," and many of the early maps and government reports use that appellation, while Cosme Peña, who served as Prefect during part of Governor Alvarado's administration, introduced a new name for the city. His troubles with the townspeople, and particularly with the rougher element, had been many, so that very soon after his arrival in *El Pueblo*, he began to sign his letters and reports to Alvarado, as from "*Los Diablos*" instead of *Los Angeles*.

MICHELTORENA AND HIS CHOLOS

After losing Texas, the Mexicans looked with alarm upon the increasing numbers of Americans settling in California, and decided to take strong measures to prevent the loss of California in a like manner.

President Santa Anna appointed General Manuel Micheltorena *Comandante General Inspector*, and *Gobernador Proprietario* of the Californias on January 19, 1842, with strict orders to check the influx of Americans.

To aid him in this mission, Micheltorena recruited an army of three hundred and fifty men, composed largely of convicts from Mexican prisons, and landed at San Diego in August, 1842. This band of "*cholos*" presented a disgusting and miserable sight. They were almost naked, and their women too—and Mexican armies always carry their women with them—were so scantily clad that modest observers turned their eyes away in embarrassment. Their filth and rags were nauseating.⁷⁴

After a few weeks' drilling and with more proper clothing, Micheltorena's army started northward to march to Los Angeles.

The city made great preparations for the new Governor. The best house in the town was made ready for him, and every provision was made to impress Micheltorena with the importance of the *ciudad* as a proper capital for Alta California, hoping to realize the dream that had been in the minds of the Angelenos for seven long years, since Los Angeles had been decreed the capital but never so acknowledged by Monterey and the northerners.

Micheltorena and his "army" arrived and were installed in the city, but the new uniforms had not improved the characters of his men. They were poorly paid and irregularly fed, and the thieving and continuous depredation of the *cholo* army soon chilled the cordiality of the townspeople. They were glad enough to see Micheltorena resume his march northward after a month's stay in their midst, for nothing was safe as long as the vagabonds remained.

The army had passed San Fernando Mission when word reached the Governor, during the night of October 24, that Monterey had been captured by American forces. This caused Micheltorena to return immediately to the Mission, and stay there until news again came that the capital had been restored to the Californians.

This alarm undoubtedly decided Micheltorena that Los Angeles was a safer capital for him than Monterey, so he marched his army back and established himself with headquarters in the Pueblo. On the 31st of December, 1842, he took the oath of office in Sanchez Hall, located on the present Sanchez Street, or Sanchez Alley it could be more appropriately called, which runs directly south from the plaza, between Main and Los Angeles streets, stopping at Arcadia Street. This building was one of the few two-story structures in the city, and Micheltorena was the second Governor to take the oath of office in Sanchez Hall. Many functions of importance took place in this building during the next twenty years.

The particulars of the incident that caused Micheltorena's hasty retreat to the Pueblo were that Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, of the American Navy, having heard rumors that the United States had declared war on Mexico, sailed into Monterey Bay, and on October 20, 1842, raised the American flag over the town, for it had surrendered to him without resistance.

COMMODORE THOMAS AP CATESBY JONES IS FETED

Upon his finding he had acted upon rumor only, Jones at once restored the town of Monterey and sent his apology to Micheltorena, who demanded that he come to Los Angeles and make the apology in person. On January 19, 1843, the Commodore and his staff arrived and met the Governor. A conference was held in the home of Don Abel Stearns, where now stands the Baker Block, on North Main Street above Commercial. Ridiculous demands

of indemnity were made upon the Commodore, who took all the papers for consideration.⁷⁵

That night a grand ball was given in honor of Commodore Jones at Sanchez Hall, which lasted until dawn, when the Commodore returned the articles of demand without his signature, and the affair ended in a blaze of glory, drum beating, cannon saluting, and the Governor and his wife waving a friendly farewell.

The Commodore was carried back to his ship at San Pedro, where before embarking he was given a notable dinner at the home of Don Juan Forster, an Englishman, who had become a Mexican citizen and later owned the great Santa Margarita Rancho, bought from his brother-in-law Pio Pico. Don Juan relates that at this dinner "the Commodore for the first time ate olives with chile, in the old California fashion, which seemed to please his palate much."⁷⁶

Micheltorena stayed eight months in Los Angeles with his "pack of wolves" and the people of Los Angeles entirely lost their enthusiasm for making their city the capital. It was during his stay in Los Angeles that Micheltorena, on March 29, 1843, issued his decree that was to restore the Missions to the Franciscans.⁷⁷

THE LAST REVOLT AMONG THE CALIFORNIANS

Now came a period of revolution, and Los Angeles was to be the scene of armed opposition again, to overthrow a governor. This time, both sides were to have their allotment of Americans, the first time that such a thing was to occur on California soil.

In November, 1844, Alvarado and Castro raised a force of two hundred men to proclaim a revolution, and as usual in these Californian revolts they started for Los Angeles taking about ninety men and leaving the other hundred and ten to disperse. The revolutionists reached Los Angeles on the 20th of January, 1845, surprised and captured the garrison, killing one man and wounding several. They camped on the plaza and the two leaders began their attempt to win over the people of the city.

A special session of the *Ayuntamiento* was called and Alvarado made flowery and flamboyant speeches, but the Angelenos were wary of the wily northerner, and hesitated to jump at his proposition. However the Picos, always leaders of the people in the south, were won over, and furthermore, Pio Pico, who was Senior *Vocal*, stood an excellent chance of being made governor if Micheltorena were deposed. So through the Picos the citizens of the south were brought to support the revolutionary cause.

In the meantime Micheltorena had opened negotiations with Captain John A. Sutter and Isaac Graham of the northern colony of Americans for assistance to crush the uprising. He promised them clear titles to their lands, and so on the 9th day of January he had begun his march south, from

Salinas, with about five hundred men, among them such prominent foreigners as J. A. Sutter, Isaac Graham, John Bidwell, Moses Carson, and Dr. John Marsh.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, in the south, about fifty foreigners joined the revolutionary forces at the Pueblo. Some of the more prominent were James McKinley, William Workman, John Rowland, B. D. Wilson, Alexander Bell, Nathaniel Pryor, Michael White, Louis Vignes, Henry Dalton, Lemuel Carpenter, and Richard Laughlin. All of them were men of worth and standing in the community.⁷⁹

On the 19th, the rebels sallied forth through Cahuenga Pass to meet Micheltorena's army, that had reached Encinos Rancho. On the 20th of February the two forces met about fifteen miles from Los Angeles. They opened fire, and the casualties of the dreadful battle amounted to one horse killed, and no one wounded.

After the little army of rebellion had left Los Angeles, there was great consternation in the city, and when on the morning of the 20th cannonading was heard in the town, those who remained at home knew the battle was on. Directly to the north of the town there was a high ridge, where now Elysian Park lies, and to this ridge, flocked men, women, and children, where with the wind blowing from the north, the firing, though miles away, could be heard throughout the day.

William Heath Davis, who was in Los Angeles at the time, gives the following vivid description of the scene on the heights:

The scene upon the hill was a remarkable one. Women and children with crosses in their hands, kneeling and praying to the Saints for the safety and protection of their fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, lovers, cousins—that they might not be killed in the battle; indifferent to their personal appearance, tears streaming from their eyes, and their hair blown about by the wind, which had increased to quite a breeze. Don Abel Stearns, myself and others tried to calm and pacify them, assuring them that there was probably no danger; somewhat against our convictions, it is true, judging from what we heard of the firing and from our knowledge of Micheltorena's disciplined force, his battery, and the riflemen he had with him. During the day the scene on the hill continued.⁸⁰

All business had been suspended in the city, and all the shops were closed, and the night that followed was a gloomy one for the families, who had as yet received no word as to the outcome of the battle.

But back at the scene of battle, the Americans of Castro's army decided there was nothing to be gained by trying to kill their countrymen, and so with Pio Pico's assurance that any of the Americans who would become citizens of Mexico would be assured their land grants, they persuaded them to desert Micheltorena.

When that dignitary learned that his American henchmen had deserted him, he surrendered, and was ordered not to enter Los Angeles with his *cholos*, but to go around the town and take the most direct route to San

Pedro, where he was to take a vessel then lying in the harbor, and return to Mexico.

So was another Mexican-born Governor deposed and deported.

It should be said here however, that Manuel Micheltorena was one of the highest type of men that had been sent from Mexico to govern the Californias. He was refined, highly educated, and a man of pleasing manner and personality. But the Californians wanted one of their own number to be their leader, and were not to be denied.

Captain Sutter was taken prisoner as ringleader of the Americans with Micheltorena but after being badly frightened by Pico and Castro, was released and allowed to return to his "farm" on the Sacramento.⁸¹

With Captain Sutter was John Bidwell. And Bancroft's version of the affair is somewhat different, since he says that both Sutter and Bidwell were taken to the Pueblo and paroled under John Rowland, who lodged them at the home of Don Abel Stearns, one of the best in the town, and that no threat was made against them of any kind.⁸²

PIO PICO, GOVERNOR—LOS ANGELES, CAPITAL OF CALIFORNIA

Again the *hijos del país* were in power. At last Los Angeles realized her dream. She was the capital of Alta California, for Pio Pico by virtue of his rank as senior member of the *Diputación*, automatically became governor.

Though Los Angeles was the capital, the treasury and the archives remained at Monterey. Castro was made *Comandante General*, and José Antonio Carrillo was put in command of the military of the south.

A little later in the summer, that arch-politician, José Antonio Carrillo, though he was his brother-in-law, plotted to depose Pico. Pico however, apprised of the fact, had Carrillo arrested and sent to Mazatlan for trial, but for some reason, he was allowed to return to Los Angeles the next year without receiving punishment.

Don Pio at first appointed Juan Bandini his secretary, but later gave that position to José María Covarrubias, and while the treasury of the province was not moved from Monterey, Pico made Ignacio del Valle treasurer, to take care of what monies might accrue in the south.

Pio Pico's appointment as Governor was confirmed by Mexico, and on April 18, 1846, he took the oath of office before the Provincial Legislature in Los Angeles, and made his inaugural address.

Now Pio Pico had always been looked upon, by the better element of California, as a clown, who through political influence had attained the eminence he held. In fact he had been called, on account of his grotesque features, *la breva aplastada* (the squashed fig) as a young man, and later, when assuming dignity, he grew a beard, he was known as *el oso sentado* (sitting bear) to the Californians, both north and south. An American residing in Los Angeles at the time of his taking over the reigns of office, wrote to Thomas O.

Larkin at Monterey: "But as to our new Governor. Ye Gods! The idea of Pio Pico being dignified with the title of Excellency! It is almost too ridiculous to believe." But to show that Pico's judgment and good faith were somewhat respected, he goes on to say: "but still Pio Pico will be a more efficient governor than Micheltorena, and if he errs, it will be through ignorance and bad advice."⁸³

But Alas! Pico was not long to enjoy the honor he had often sought, for within a month after taking his oath of office, war was declared between Mexico and the United States, and Governor Pico was soon to find his territory invaded by a foreign force, and that of the country he had so long dreaded, the hated Americans.

When it was well known that his beloved Los Angeles would fall into the hands of his enemies, Don Pio, under cover of night, quietly beat a retreat to Mexico where he remained for two years, vainly endeavoring to obtain aid and assistance and only returning in 1848 to find another flag flying over *La Ciudad de Los Angeles*.^{83a}

[To be continued.]

NOTES

1. Henry R. Wagner, "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VII, 73.

2. Herbert E. Bolton, *Fray Crespi, Missionary Explorer*, pp. 146-47.

3. The early Spaniards used the word *aliso* (translated "alder") for the California sycamore tree, since that tree looks more like an alder tree of Spain than it does like the European sycamore, and to this day the *paisano* invariably calls the sycamore tree an *aliso*, the Spanish word for alder. When these trees are compared it is easily shown why this error was made. I have an "*aliso*" or California sycamore and a European sycamore tree within a hundred feet of each other on my home place; there is no similarity between them, and the California sycamore looks greatly like an alder. See also William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, p. 172.

4. Zoeth S. Eldredge, *The March of Portolá*, p. 29.

5. Henry R. Wagner, *The Earliest Documents of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles*, 1931. For minute details and the last word on the subject, see also Thomas Workman Temple's excellent and scholarly paper, "Se Fundaron un Pueblo de Espanoles," *Annual Pub. Hist. Soc. Southern Calif.*, 1931, pp. 69-98. Mr. Temple, a descendant of both Spanish and American pioneers, has probably accomplished more on this subject than any other historian.

5a. "First Census of Los Angeles," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1931, p. 148, trans. from MS "Provincial State Papers: Missions and Colonization," Tomo I, pp. 101-2, by Thomas Workman Temple II.

6. The following notes on the races and castes of Mexico, which were prepared by Thomas Workman Temple, taken from Vol. II, p. 471, of *Mexico a través de los Siglos*, clear up some of the confusion:

Español—Spaniard; *Criollo*—Child born in Mexico of Spanish parents; *Mestizo* or *Coyote*—Child of Spanish father and Indian mother; *Castizo*—Child of *mestizo* father and Spanish mother; *Español*—Child of *castizo* father and Spanish mother; *Mulato*—Child of Spanish father and Negro mother; *Morisco*—Child of *mulato*

father and Spanish mother; *Salta-atras* (literally a "throw-back")—Child with Negro characteristics but of white parents; *Chino*—Child of a *salta-atras* and an Indian; *Lobo*—Child of a *chino* and a *mulata*; *Gibaro*—Child of a *lobo* and a *mulata*; *Albar-raçado*—Child of a *gibaro* and an Indian; *Cambujo*—Child of an *albarraçado* and a Negress; *Zambo-prieto*—Child of a *cambujo* and an Indian or a Negro and a Zamba; *Calpan Mulata*—Child of a *zambo* and a *mulata*.

7. *Los Angeles City and County Directory*, 1872, p. 20.
8. Thomas Workman Temple, "Soldiers and Settlers of the Expedition of 1781," *Annual Pub. Hist. Soc. Southern Calif.*, 1931, p. 101.
9. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 460.
10. *Ibid.*, I, 661.
11. Charles Dwight Willard, *History of Los Angeles City*, pp. 102-5.
12. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 111.
13. Robert G. Cleland, *History of California: The American Period*, p. 13.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 470.
15. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 180.
16. *Ibid.*, II, 110.
17. *Ibid.*, II, 112.
18. *Ibid.*, II, 270.
19. *Ibid.*, II, 307.
20. J. M. Guinn, "The Story of a Plaza," *Annual Pub. Hist. Soc. Southern Calif.*, IV, 247.
21. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 353.
22. *Ibid.*, II, 350.
23. J. M. Guinn, "The Story of a Plaza," *Annual Pub. Hist. Soc. So. Calif.*, IV, 247.
24. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 248.
25. *Ibid.*, II, 526.
26. *Ibid.*, II, 354.
27. *Ibid.*, II, 349.
28. *Ibid.*, II, 350.
29. *Ibid.*, II, 563.
30. J. M. Guinn, "The Story of a Plaza," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, IV, 248.
31. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, "Pioneer Register."
32. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 559.
33. *Ibid.*, II, 441.
34. Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases*, 1862, Appendix, p. 51.
35. Captain Eugene Plummer, a native of Los Angeles, 83 years of age (1934), has identified the Alanis ranch-house site to the writer. Captain Plummer remembers it well as a young man.
36. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, II, 454.
37. *Ibid.*, II, 461-62.
38. *Ibid.*, II, 560.
39. *Ibid.*, II, 558.
40. Harrison C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations*, 1918, p. 222.
41. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, II, 563.
42. A. Duhaut-Cilly, *Voyage autour du Monde*, trans. in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII, 246.
43. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, II, 564.
44. James Ohio Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 1831, pp. 214-15.
45. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, II, 558.

46. Two full blocks on old San Fernando Street, now North Spring Street, between the Plaza and Ord Street.

47. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia*, p. 334.

48. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, III, 205.

49. *Ibid.*, III, 206.

50. *Ibid.*, III, 208.

51. H. D. Barrows, "William Wolfskill, the Pioneer," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, V, 292.

52. *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County*, 1876, p. 60.

53. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, pp. 169-72.

54. Bancroft, *Hist. of California*, III, 220.

55. John P. Harrington's notes to Father Geronimo Boscana's *Chinigchinich* (revised ed.), 1933, p. 206.

56. *History of Los Angeles County*, Thompson & West, 1880, p. 35.

57. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, II, 201.

58. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, III, 416.

59. *Ibid.*, III, 417.

60. Los Angeles Archives, Vol. II, Transcript 134.

61. George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer*, 1930, pp. 200-4.

62. Los Angeles Archives, 1836, Vol. II, Trans., 156.

63. J. M. Guinn, "The Old Pueblo Archives," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, IV, 41.

64. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, III, 534.

65. *Centennial History, Los Angeles County*, 1876, p. 14. For Warner's story see Los Angeles Archives, June 30, 1838, where he swears complaint for the arrest of the marauders before the *Ayuntamiento*.

66. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, III, 642. Mrs. Ana Begue Packman, great granddaughter of Maximo Alanis, tells the story handed down in the family for generations, as to how Don Maximo paid Father Sanchez' debt to Society. Mrs. Packman lives now in Los Angeles in the old adobe built by Francisco Figueroa, the brother of Governor Figueroa.

67. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, "Pioneer Register."

68. W. F. Wagner (ed.), *Adventures of Zenas Leonard*, 1904, p. 174, note. See also [Douglas S. Watson], *West Wind, the Life Story of Joseph Reddeford Walker*, 1934.

69. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 223-24.

70. Rev. Eugene Sugranes, *First Discovery of Gold in California*, Historical Record and Souvenir of the Pioneer Society of Los Angeles County, p. 46.

71. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World*, 1847, I, 402.

72. José Arnaz, "Recuerdos de un Comerciante," 1878, MS, Bancroft Library.

73. C. D. Willard, *History of Los Angeles City*, p. 169.

74. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California*, 1846, p. 207.

75. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 321.

76. Juan Forster, "Pioneer Data from 1832," MS, Bancroft Library.

77. Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Carlos*, 1934, p. 195.

78. Johann August Sutter, *Diary*, S. F., 1932—Roster of forces which left Sutter's Fort, January 1, 1845.

79. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 495.

80. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, p. 184.

81. Sutter, *Diary*, S. F., 1932, p. 25.

82. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 508.

83. *Ibid.*, IV, 519.

83a. See George Tays, "Pio Pico's Correspondence with Mexican Government, 1846-1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIII, 2, June, 1934, pp. 99-149.

THE OLDEST STREET IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Thomas P. Burns

On June 25, 1835, a man and a woman, with their three small children, traversed the bleak hillside rising from Yerba Buena Cove on San Francisco Bay.

They halted at a spot which is now the west side of Grant Avenue between Clay and Washington Streets. Theirs had been a weary trek from Mission San Gabriel. The man proceeded to erect a tent dwelling. He had selected and had been promised this identical parcel of ground of one hundred varas (275 feet square) as a *solar* (house lot) by Governor Figueroa. The reason that he was obliged to locate thus far from the beach (which was just east of the present Montgomery Street) was that the space between had been reserved for governmental purposes. All around him was solitude; his nearest neighbors were at the Presidio and Mission Dolores, both established in 1776, and miles distant. Thus he became the first settler or founder at Yerba Buena Cove, which in October, 1835, became the Village or Pueblo of Yerba Buena; in 1847, the Town of San Francisco, and finally, in 1850, the romantic and resourceful City of San Francisco.

The man was William A. Richardson, a native of London, England, born August 27, 1795, a mariner by profession, who as chief mate of a ship had arrived at Sausalito on August 7, 1822. Becoming enamored of California, he decided (with the consent of his captain) to make it his future home. He was enterprising, far-seeing and skilled in various occupations. The woman was his wife, Maria Antonia Martinez, daughter of Ignacio Martinez, Comandante of the Presidio of San Francisco. They had been married at the Mission Dolores on May 3, 1825, and had resided for several years at the Presidio. Their three small children were Mariana, aged 9, Esteban (Stephen), aged 4, and Francisco, aged 2.

As early as 1825 Richardson had applied to Governor Argüello for permission to settle at Yerba Buena. He applied again in 1828 to Governor Echeandia, and a third time, in 1834, to Governor Figueroa. In each case his application was rejected.

In May, 1835, he met Governor Figueroa at Mission San Gabriel. The Governor, who had never been at Yerba Buena, told Richardson that he had seen his previous applications and inquired regarding the matter of space and conditions at Yerba Buena suitable for a village or town. At the Governor's request Richardson drew and furnished the Governor with a map showing the lay of the land. The Governor promised to make Richardson Captain of the Port of San Francisco (which was later done), and asked

him to designate on the map the site of a *solar*, or house lot, one hundred varas square, for Richardson's use. Incidentally, this map is now in the possession of the writer.

The Richardson map for the proposed pueblo shows the southern limit as a line drawn from a point on the bay shore at the water's edge, at about 150 feet west of the present Sansome Street, running thence in a westerly direction equi-distant 110 feet north of the present Pine Street, to a point about 75 feet east of what is now Powell Street, thence at a right angle northerly and parallel with Powell Street to La Playa or North Beach. This last line constituted the western limit of the pueblo. The northern boundary was La Playa or North Beach, and the eastern boundary, La Playa or the East Beach, with a base line on the map running north from the southerly boundary mentioned, and corresponding with the western side of the present day Montgomery Street. All outside of the southerly and westerly limits were *Terrenos Valdios* (so marked on Richardson's map), meaning "public lands—unoccupied."

Richardson projected but one street, 82 feet, 6 inches, wide, which ran from the southerly boundary mentioned, northerly to the bay along the lines of the present Grant Avenue, which street he named "*Calle de la fundacion*." The street was later reduced in width to 44 feet. This was the first, and therefore the oldest street in San Francisco. On this street, on the west side, north of the present Clay Street, Richardson made his selection of the one hundred vara lot which Figueroa had promised him.

In October, 1835 (Governor Figueroa having died in September), Acting Governor José Castro directed Alcalde De Haro, then at the Mission Dolores, to make a survey of the proposed pueblo at Yerba Buena, which was done with the assistance of Richardson and others.¹ De Haro accepted all of Richardson's suggestions except that he chose to lay out a street in a diagonal direction towards the northwest bay and the route to the Presidio. This street commenced at the summit of a sand-hill which stood on the southerly line of the proposed pueblo, near the northwest corner of the present Pine and Kearny Streets. To this diagonal street De Haro gave the name "*Calle de la fundacion*," but left Richardson's "*Calle de la fundacion*" as a prospective thoroughfare. On this diagonal street at a distance of 400 varas from its commencement at the sand-hill, De Haro located a site for Richardson's lot. In 1836, a site of a lot 100 varas square was located for Jacob P. Leese on this diagonal street adjoining Richardson's lot on the southeast, and in 1837 the site of a lot 100 varas square was located for Francisco Sanchez, adjoining Richardson's lot on the northwest. These three lots were the only lots assigned on the diagonal street.

The diagonal street seems to have been unpopular with the residents. In November, 1839, J. J. Vioget made a survey map of Yerba Buena which shows that the portion of the diagonal street southeast of Richardson's

"Calle de la fundacion" (now Grant Avenue) was entirely ignored, and by 1843 it appears that the remainder of the diagonal street (northwestward of the present Grant Avenue) and on which were facing the lots of Richardson, Leese and Sanchez, was abandoned, and those three lots were transplanted so as to abut directly on the Richardson "Calle" (the present Grant Avenue). They were relocated as follows: The Leese lot between Sacramento and Clay Streets, the Richardson lot between Clay and Washington Streets (the buildings thereon left unshifted), and the Sanchez lot between Washington and Jackson Streets. These lots are now known as Nos. 56, 57, and 76, of the Fifty Vara Survey.

Richardson's "Calle de la fundacion" (present Grant Avenue) shows on Vioget's map of November, 1839, but, like all other streets on the Vioget map, has no name.

The "Calle" of Richardson subsequently became Dupont Street and as such first appears on the survey map made by Jasper O'Farrell in 1847. It was named for Captain Dupont, U. S. N.—a friend of the first American Alcalde, Washington A. Bartlett, who was first appointed and later elected to that office in 1846. The name "Dupont Street" continued until 1877. By an act of the Legislature, approved March 24, 1876, the widening of Dupont Street from Market to Bush Street from 44 feet to 74 feet was authorized; the land needed being taken from the land on the west side of the street.

It appears that one Fleet F. Strother was then a member of the Board of Supervisors and of the street committee thereof. He had had some noted ancestor in England whose name was Fleet, and Strother conceived the idea that he would seek fame by having the newly widened portion of Dupont Street named for his ancestor. He succeeded in winning the consent of a majority of his fellow Supervisors, so that in 1877 the Board *ex cathedra* ordained that the widened portion of Dupont Street should be thereafter known as "Fleet Street."

But alas and alack for the dignity and complacency of the Supervisors—the State Legislature took a hand in the matter:

An Act respecting Dupont Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Approved January 15, 1878

The people of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The street in San Francisco heretofore known as Dupont Street and running from Market Street to the Bay, shall hereafter be known by that name through the entire length thereof, notwithstanding any attempt by the Board of Supervisors of said City and County to change the same.

Section 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

And so the name reverted to "Dupont Street" and remained such until 1886.

U. S. Grant, General and former President of the United States, died in 1885, and the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, in order to honor Grant's memory, and being now assured of their authority, since it had been determined that the Legislature had exceeded its power in passing the act above cited, decided to name that portion of Dupont Street between Market and Bush Streets, "Grant Avenue." This was done in 1886, and the name endures. It may be noted that Grant was never in any way connected with the history of San Francisco. In 1908 the remaining narrow portion of Dupont Street north of Bush street was renamed "Grant Avenue" by the Board of Supervisors.

In October, 1835, Richardson having received legal possession of his lot (for which he had paid \$25), took down the tent dwelling and erected a wooden house of three rooms,² the first in the settlement, lining the house with the canvas of the tent as a further protection against the weather. This wooden house was located at what is now known as No. 827 Grant Avenue. In 1836 Richardson erected a large adobe building with tiled roof on his lot. This was known as "Casa Grande" and occupied the space now covered with modern buildings, bearing the street numbers 827-843 Grant Avenue.

It is to be regretted that no portrait of Captain Richardson is obtainable. There was a splendid oil painting of him on exhibition at the rooms of the Society of California Pioneers, but it was destroyed in the great fire of April 18, 1906. Nor can any sketch of his wooden and adobe houses be found. On a map of the U. S. Coast Survey published in 1853 (Survey 1851-52) there is delineated the position of Richardson's pioneer houses.

Richardson was Captain of the Port of San Francisco at Yerba Buena from 1835 to December, 1844, and was appointed, under American rule, by Commodore Stockton, Provisional Governor, in 1846, as Collector of Customs and Captain of the Port. He sold his property at Yerba Buena in 1841 to Captain James McKinley and removed to his Rancho at Sausalito, where he resided until his death on April 20, 1856. Many sincerely mourned his passing.

Richardson was truly a pioneer, as was his wife, Maria Antonia Martinez, who was born at Santa Barbara on June 12, 1803, and died July 3, 1887.

So ends the story of the oldest street in San Francisco. There are those conversant with the history of this city who maintain that the most fitting name for the street "*ab initio et in perpetuum*" is "Richardson Street." On June 25, 1935, one hundred years will have passed since William A. Richardson founded the village of Yerba Buena from which our great city has sprung, and by that date it is hoped that its citizens will do this merited honor to the memory of its foremost pioneer.

NOTA

Richardson's daughter, Mariana, who grew to be a famous and accomplished beauty, was born April 9, 1826, in the Comandante's headquarters

at the Presidio of San Francisco (the building now used as the Officers' Club). She married, on October 16, 1848, Manuel Torres, late of Peru, a brother-in-law of Captain Stephen Smith of Yerba Buena and Bodega, and she died on January 11, 1908. Torres died March 24, 1910. They had five children, of whom two survive—Mrs. Ruth Torres Beck of San Francisco, born at Sausalito in 1852, and Alfred I. Torres, aged 77 years. Several great grandchildren of Captain Richardson are now living in San Francisco: Ruth Torres Dinan, born 1899; Carmelita Torres, born 1902; Clark Torres, born 1905; George Torres Davis, born 1877; Charles Wesley Davis, born 1879; Frank H. Davis, born 1882, and David Brodie Torres, born 1881.

Stephen Richardson, son of Captain Richardson, was born at San Gabriel Mission in 1831 and died at San Francisco in 1924, aged 93, leaving children—William, Thomas, Mary and Josephine.

Francisco Richardson, son of Captain Richardson, was born at San Gabriel Mission in 1833, and died at Sausalito in 1847.

NOTES TO THE OLDEST STREET IN SAN FRANCISCO

1. Testimony of William A. Richardson, December 27, 1855, in the 4th District Court, San Francisco, in the case of Whitman vs. Judah, Manchester, et al:

"The Alcalde marked off the lot by putting down four stakes at the corners. This was in October, 1835. I paid \$25. for the Lot."

2. From Affidavit of Mrs. Ruth Torres Beck, granddaughter of W. A. Richardson, dated August 24, 1933: "At that time, October, 1835, my grandfather, William A. Richardson, built a small wooden house of three rooms. On its completion the tent was razed and the canvas cut and used for lining of the house. The family lived in the wooden house for about a year, by which time the large adobe 'Casa Grande' was completed. The family then occupied their new home. At the same time (1836) the wooden house was remodeled and improved, the principal improvement being the addition of a tiled roof."

Mrs. Maria Antonia Richardson (widow of Captain Richardson) in a statement to James H. Wilkins, sometime before her death in 1887, confirmed the facts contained in the above.

See also "Report on the First House in Yerba Buena," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XI, 1, March, 1932, pp. 73-78.

THE GENESIS OF THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY*

CHAPTER I. THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY

By John Haskell Kemble

About thirteen months after the discovery of gold in California the waters of San Francisco Bay were beaten by the paddles of the first of a regular line of American mail steamers destined to be the principal link between California and the Atlantic coast for a decade to come. Down to 1848, with the exception of the steamer *Beaver* of the Hudson's Bay Company, and two British steamers on the west coast of South America, the Pacific coast had been navigated solely by sailing vessels.

Until the close of the Mexican War, the territory of Alta California had not been of particular interest to Americans in general; but the Oregon country to the north had claimed attention since the first days of the Republic. This interest was not very widespread at first, being confined largely to the maritime and fur-trading groups. Robert Gray, one of the first captains to carry the Stars and Stripes to the Pacific, in 1787-1792, had made important explorations off the mouth of the Columbia River. Official concern regarding the territory was manifest when President Jefferson sent out the Lewis and Clark exploring party in 1804-1806, which crossed the continent, and wintered near the mouth of the Columbia. For the three succeeding decades the region was of particular interest to the fur traders of British North America and the United States. When the Joint Occupation Treaty was signed in 1827 between Great Britain and the United States, another step in the growing importance of the territory was marked. It was not long before the outposts of the frontier of the United States were reaching the end of what was considered good farming land, and in 1832, parties

*An acknowledgement: *The Pioneer steamer "California,"* the work of Victor M. Berthold, a remarkable fund of information from eastern newspapers, which would not otherwise have been available for this study, has been of particular value in the preparation of this article. Thanks is due to the staffs of the Bancroft Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the Stanford University Library, and the California State Library, for assistance. Mr. Robert E. Cowan has been more than kind in opening his unsurpassed private library of Californiana for my use and in giving of his broad experience in valuable suggestions. To Professors Herbert E. Bolton, Fred-eric L. Paxson, and Edgar E. Robinson, and Messrs, Elwin M. Eldredge, Porter Shaw, and William Muir, is due especial thanks for their valuable guidance, and as a willing aide in the dreary task of proof reading of the manuscript, my sincere gratitude goes to Miss Mary Frances Bean.

of individuals, not fur traders, began to leave the Missouri border, headed for Oregon. The fertile lands along the Willamette and Columbia Rivers had begun to exert their attraction for the land-hungry American farmer. The stream of settlers, though small and slow at first, was continuous in its flow. By 1843, there were enough American settlers in the region to put aside the government of the Hudson's Bay Company and to set up a simple representative government of their own. Three years later, a treaty was signed between England and the United States, which divided Oregon and extended the forty-ninth parallel to the Pacific as the international boundary. The United States had crossed the continent.

With Oregon definitely a part of the United States, it became necessary to set up some sort of regular communication. President Polk, in his message to Congress of August 6, 1846, which announced the settlement of the controversy over the Oregon boundary, after recommending the establishment of some sort of government for the area and the regulation of trade with the Indians, wrote: "It is likewise important that mail facilities, so indispensable for the diffusion of information and for building together the different portions of our extended Confederacy, should be afforded to our citizens west of the Rocky Mountains."¹

Ever since 1819, there had been enthusiasts who recommended methods of regular trans-continental communication, ranging from Bactrian camel trains to railroads. In 1845, Asa Whitney placed before Congress his famous memorial requesting a land grant to aid him in the construction of a railroad to the mouth of the Columbia River. The possibility of the construction of such a road was recognized, but the financing of the line presented difficulties, and the time required for its construction was a serious drawback.²

The route by water, from the east coast to Chagres, the short land journey across the Isthmus of Panama, and the run up the Pacific coast from Panama to Oregon appeared to be much more immediately feasible to the authorities in Washington. The germ of the idea of a steamship line from Panama to Oregon is said to have come to the United States Government from John M. Shively, a resident of Oregon for some years prior to 1845. He spent the winter of 1845-46 in Washington, and held conferences with the Post Office Department on the subject.³ Shively in 1846 published a guide book for the use of emigrants to Oregon.⁴ When mail service was established his services were rewarded by appointment to the postmastership of Astoria.⁵

Newly aroused enthusiasm for the development of a modern merchant marine through governmental aid was another factor which influenced the Congress. The appearance on the Atlantic at the beginning of the decade of the forties of heavily subsidized lines of British steamers, such as the Cunard and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, had awakened in Americans a desire to compete with similar ships. The only way such competition could be made possible was for Congress to offer liberal subventions

to American ship operators. Further, it was widely believed at this period that merchant steamers would be as easily convertible into ships of war, and would be as effective as privateers and auxiliary cruisers as sailing vessels had been in the past. If this were true, the same funds would not only produce steamers for an American merchant marine, but also additional vessels which could be of use to the Navy. Though it was not long before the extreme vulnerability of a steamer driven by paddle wheels and the general unfitness of merchant steamers for conversion into warships was discovered, this factor played a large part in the foundation of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. These interests took concrete form in the passage by Congress on March 3, 1845, of "An act to provide for the transportation of the mail between the United States and foreign countries, and for other purposes," which allowed the Secretary of the Navy to enter into contracts for the carrying of the mails in American ships, built under the supervision of Naval officers so as to be suitable for conversion into auxiliary cruisers, and to be at the disposal of the Navy Department in time of war.⁶

In accordance with the request of President Polk, the question of the transportation of mails to Oregon was taken up by Congress, and on January 15, 1847, the Senate Committee on Post Office and Post Roads reported a bill providing such service, which was passed immediately to a second reading.⁷ The bill came up again on February 23, and after minor amendment, it was passed a second and third time.⁸ Two acts emerged from the expiring Congress, both dated March 3, 1847, and reflecting the two phases of interest, either of which might be the one to provide a mail for Oregon. One, an "Act providing for the Building and Equipment of four naval steamships," was the direct descendant of the Act of 1845. In one of its sections, the Secretary of the Navy was directed to contract for the transportation of the mails from Panama to "such port as he may select in the Territory of Oregon" by either steam or sailing vessels. The ships for this service were to be constructed upon plans approved by the Navy Department, and under its direct supervision. Their ultimate control was to rest with the Navy, which might at any time take over the vessels so built. The service was to be performed once a month in each direction, and the sailing of the ships from Panama was to be timed to connect with the mails coming from the United States to the Atlantic side of the Isthmus.⁹

The other act was one "to establish certain Post Routes and for other purposes," and instructed the Postmaster General to contract for the transportation of the mail from some Atlantic or Gulf port to Chagres, by way of Havana, across the Isthmus of Panama, and "thence to Astoria, or the mouth of the Columbia River, touching at Monterey, St. Francisco, and such other places on the coast as the Postmaster General may direct . . ." It was further stipulated that the frequency of the service was to be at least once every two months in each direction, and that the expenditure by the

Government for the service from Panama to Astoria was not to exceed \$100,000 annually. The postage to Astoria, or other Pacific coast ports was set at 40 cents a letter.¹⁰

In his annual report of 1847, the Postmaster General stated:

The service to Oregon from Charleston and Panama, as directed by the . . . act of the 3rd of March, 1847, has not been put in operation. The usual advertisements for the service were made, and no bid was received for the service, within the limitations of the law, that could be accepted . . . Congress might still desire the establishment of this important line to Oregon, even if more money had to be paid than the sum limited in the law. The whole service will probably cost more than double the amount appropriated.¹¹

At the same time, the Secretary of the Navy, bound by no limit above which bids might not be considered, had advertised on May 4, 1847, for a service from Panama to Astoria. In the act of March 3, 1847, provision had also been made for lines of mail steamers between New York and Liverpool, and between New York, New Orleans and Chagres, but in each of these cases, the recipient of the contract was clearly stated.¹² It was in the absence of such instructions that the Secretary of the Navy advertised for bids, and it was also in the absence of definite directions that he left the bidders "to propose their own terms as to the duration of the contract, the rate of compensation, and the description of vessels in which the service was to be rendered." Secretary Mason placed Astoria as the northern terminus of the service, and construed the Congressional act to require the ships to make the voyage within thirty days. Since the distance to be covered was more than three thousand miles, and the winds and currents along the coast were known to be such as to render it impossible to negotiate it in the required time in sailing vessels, it was determined to employ steamers. The Department fixed the duration of the contract at ten years due to the "great distance at which the service is to be performed; the heavy expenses which must be incurred by the contractors in providing on the Pacific coast: the necessary shops and materials for repair; the indispensable fuel and depots for coal . . ." Since the original act had not specified the time for which the contract was to run, Secretary Mason protected himself by providing that Congress might annul it in its next session, if the provisions were not satisfactory. The ships were to be ready for sea in October and November, 1848, and payment was to begin with the opening of actual service.¹³

The contract was awarded to Arnold Harris of Arkansas, who on November 16, 1847, had offered to perform the service for \$199,000 per year. It took the form indicated by the various acts of Congress which had preceded it, requiring the transportation of the mails from Panama to Astoria for a term of ten years, beginning October 1, 1848, in three steamers approved by the inspectors of the Navy Department, "two of which shall not be of less than one thousand tons burden, and the other shall not be of less than six hundred tons burden . . ." The ships were to call at one or two intermediate

ports as directed by the Secretary of the Navy, and might touch at such other places as the contractor wished, provided that the regularity of the service was maintained. The vessels were to be convertible into warships, the Navy Department reserving the right to take them over for its own use at any time, paying such compensation as might be fixed upon by representatives of the contractor and the Navy. A Government agent, in whose charge the mails were to be placed, was to be carried on each steamer free of charge. Unless the contract were annulled by Congress in its coming session, the compensation of \$199,000 a year was to be paid in quarterly installments, as the service was carried out.¹⁴

In his annual report for 1847, Secretary Mason commented on the ocean mail contracts negotiated during that year in the following words:

I regard them as favorable contracts, and the establishment of regular and speedy intercourse by mail steamer between the Atlantic cities and Oregon as of the highest national importance.

I have cordially coöperated in the establishment of the several lines of steamers, stipulated by these contracts. Thirteen new vessels will be constructed in the most skillful manner, and which may be useful as war steamers, and will be available for national purposes on an emergency.¹⁵

The combination of the Navy and Post Office departments working in close combination, with the Navy paying out money for the operation of ships which were of immediate use only to the Post Office, was almost sure to result in some administrative friction. The first hint of this is to be found in the Report of 1847 of the Secretary of the Navy.

The contracts stipulate that a mail agent, to be appointed by the Postmaster General, shall be placed and maintained on board. But as the contract is made with this department, and the payment will be made from the treasury on bills approved here, unless otherwise directed, it may be a question whether the law sufficiently provides for the regulation and collection of postage by the Post Office Department, and how far such receipts would be applicable to the payment of these contractors. I respectfully submit that the necessary legal enactments may be made by Congress. . . .¹⁶

The rôle of Arnold Harris as a speculator, or as merely the representative of other interests, was clearly shown when, on November 19, three days after he received the contract, he assigned it to William H. Aspinwall of New York.¹⁷ Son of John Aspinwall, a merchant, and grandson of a sea captain, William Henry Aspinwall had been early apprenticed to his uncles, G. G. and S. Howland, who were important merchants of the day, carrying on a heavy trade with England, Mexico, and the Mediterranean. At 25 years of age, he was admitted as a partner in the firm, with a quarter interest, and five years later, in 1837, the management of the entire business, whose capital was \$200,000 was turned over to him and his cousin, Edgar Howland. In the same year, the firm's name was changed to Howland and Aspinwall. By this time it handled the largest general trading, exporting and importing business of any house in New York. The firm retained through

the difficult financial years following 1837 "its heavy trade with England and the Mediterranean lands and remained without rival in the Pacific trade and scarcely an equal in the West and East Indies shipping . . . Its fleet of clipper ships was well known in the chief ports; and its profits were rapidly making Aspinwall a leading merchant and capitalist in New York."¹⁸

Aspinwall's interest in the establishment of a line of steamers on the Pacific coast of North America may be traced directly to his experience in the operation of ships on the Pacific. He was a keen man, and may easily have seen the possibilities for increased trade along the western shore of North America, with the growth of population in that region. It is rather significant that Alfred Robinson, who had been in business in Alta California since 1829, and who was consulted by Aspinwall concerning the venture, wrote:

To give an idea of how little I thought of the speculation when these steamers were started, I will mention that Mr. Aspinwall was extremely desirous that I should take an interest in the steamers, and I thought it was out of the question it should pay, that all the profit that could possibly be derived from the venture was from the few passengers we might pick up, and some little freight, which would not amount to much of anything. We supposed that the compensation from the Government for carrying the mails would just about defray the expenses of running the steamers, and all that we got beyond that would be the remuneration from passage and freight custom.¹⁹

In the light of this statement, it is clear that the subsidy alone was not expected to produce great returns, yet from what is known of Aspinwall's business career, he was not a man to risk the comparatively great outlay required for the establishment of such a line of steamers without some rather definite assurance that he was making a sound investment.

The chief associates of Aspinwall in the venture were his old business partner Gardiner G. Howland, Henry Chauncey and Edwin Bartlett. Howland, Chauncey and Aspinwall acted as incorporators for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which was chartered under the laws of the State of New York on April 12, 1848 for a term of twenty years "for the purpose of building, equipping, furnishing, purchasing, chartering, and owning vessels, to be propelled solely or partially by the power or aid of steam or other expansive fluid or motive power, to be run and propelled in navigating the Pacific Ocean . . ." The capital stock was set at \$500,000, divided into one hundred shares.²⁰ William Henry Aspinwall was elected first president of the company.

The existence of the mail subsidy from the Navy Department brought the Pacific Mail into close relations with the Government, and led to protracted correspondence regarding problems which arose in connection with the operation of the service. The Congressional Act of March 3, 1847 had set the northern terminus of the line at some point in Oregon to be selected by the Secretary of the Navy, and in the contract of the following Novem-

ber, Astoria was named as that port. Aspinwall wrote Secretary Mason on December 20, 1847, evidently asking that the steamers not be required to run as far north as Astoria. The reason for this request is not entirely clear, though in the light of the actual experience of the company, it is safe to suppose that the practical impossibility of making the entire trip on a regular monthly schedule with only three steamers was realized. The additional factor that Alta California was at that time under the control of the United States made a terminal south of Oregon a possibility. The Secretary of the Navy delayed his answer until the 10th of June, 1848, and then gave as reason for the long delay, the necessity for consultation with the Postmaster General. He wrote that in view of the existing conditions in Oregon and California, and the uncertainty as to the future centres of population, he did not feel at liberty to make any permanent alterations in the contract.

With the understanding that the modifications now acceded to are to be subject to the absolute right of the Navy Department, on six months' notice to you, to require the service to be performed as to deliver the mails on steamers at Astoria, or the Straits of Fuca, or any other point in Oregon . . . I agree that . . . in consideration of your agreeing to touch, free of charge, at three points now occupied by the squadron, or at such ports on the west coast to the south, not exceeding three in number, as may be required by this department, after the restoration of peace with Mexico, I agree that the steamers shall not be required to proceed further north than San Francisco; but mail service must regularly be performed in connection with them, in suitable sailing vessels. . . .

The letter said further that in ports of the United States, and in ports occupied by the American forces, the ships engaged in executing the mail contract would be regarded as transports, and would be exempt from tonnage dues and port charges, and that coal and other supplies for the steamers might be landed and deposited free of duty. The closing paragraph of the letter gave some insight into the principles guiding Secretary Mason in his dealings with the Pacific Mail.

I regret the delay which has occurred in answering your communication; but anxious as I am that the enterprise in which you are engaged shall realize all the advantages contemplated by the law, and especially that it shall establish and maintain a speedy, certain, and safe communication with our interesting settlements on the distant Pacific, and give the inhabitants of that region the full facilities intended for them in the most efficient manner, I have not been prepared to answer your letter . . . at an earlier day. My first duty is to secure these public objects, I shall not be unwilling, in promoting them, to make the service less onerous to you.²¹

In the period between the signing of the contract, and the date of this letter, the Mexican War had been concluded, and the necessity now of including the ports of California in the mail service, coupled with the desire of the contractors to shorten the run required of their mail steamers, were quite sufficient to bring about this change in the requirements.

The Government's interest in providing for calls at the ports of California



PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP "CALIFORNIA"

was emphasized two months later, in the Naval Appropriation Act of August 3, 1848, which provided for loans to the various organizations holding ocean mail contracts under the Act of March 3, 1847, to aid in the completion of steamers to carry out the contracts. These funds were to be advanced at the rate of \$25,000 per month on each ship between the time of her launching, and her completion. The total sum going to any one company, was not, however, to exceed in amount, one year's subsidy. In consequence of this advance, the Act required that the ships of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company call to receive and discharge mails at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco.²²

The agreement was signed on September 1, 1848, between Secretary Mason and Arnold Harris, original assignee of the mail contract, and now acting for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, in which the holder of the contract bound itself to make the California stops in return for the financial assistance.²³ On the 4th of September, Aspinwall gave liens to Prosper Wetmore, representing the Navy Department, as security for the money advanced. The liens, placed upon the steamers building for the Pacific Mail, were to run until October 1, 1849, or one year after the contract service was to begin.²⁴

Thus, by the date set for the opening of the mail service by steamer between Panama and the coast of California and Oregon, the corporate structure of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which was to carry out that ambitious undertaking, was complete. With its financial foundations set in the soundest fortunes in New York, and aided by a heavy subsidy from the United States Government, its start seemed auspicious. The judgment of men who should have known the business possibilities of the Pacific most thoroughly, however, was that, at best, the enterprise could do little more than pay for itself, and that considerable profits could not be expected. Further, the problem of bringing the steamers to the Pacific, and of operating them along more than three thousand miles of coastline, sparsely inhabited in the extreme, without adequate dockyards, machine shops, fuel supplies, or even landing facilities, was one of titanic proportions, and the way in which it was met forms an important chapter, not only in the history of the Pacific coast, but in all the annals of the sea.

CHAPTER II

THREE SHIPS

The Pacific coast of North America was not new to navigators when steam vessels first came to those waters. Mexico had scarcely fallen before Cortes and his Indian allies, before he was building ships in which to cross the Gulf of California, and by 1543 Cabrillo had sailed along the inhospitable coastline of California as far north as Punta Arena. The Philippine trade first brought regular merchant vessels along the coast, and almost annually for two centuries and a half the weary voyagers aboard Manila

galleons kept a vigilant lookout for the coast near Cape Mendocino. There were occasional visits from foreign explorers or pirates, but in the main, the Pacific remained a "Spanish lake" down to the end of the Eighteenth Century, and into the first decades of the Nineteenth. A coasting trade to the south of Acapulco sprang up with the growth of the Philippine trade, since there was demand in Lima for the Oriental wares brought from Manila. After the establishment of Spanish settlements in Alta California, supply ships sailed with more or less regularity from San Blas for San Diego, Monterey and San Francisco.

By the first years of the Nineteenth Century, trading vessels, hailing generally from one of the New England ports, began to appear off the Alta California coast, and to carry away hides and tallow in exchange for the products of the growing mills and workshops of their home ports. Whaling vessels occasionally dropped anchor in the sheltered waters of San Francisco or San Diego bays to replenish their supplies of wood, water and provisions. Knowledge concerning the region was gradually growing, and men such as Aspinwall began to see possibilities for economic gain in the operation of some regular coasting service between the settlements of Oregon and California and the Isthmus of Panama.

In 1835, the Hudson's Bay Company had constructed, for service on the Oregon coast, the steamer *Beaver*. Though she was a stubby little vessel of only 101.4 feet length, and with a tonnage of 109.12, she attracted great attention in England during her building, as the first steamer constructed to navigate the Pacific. Though her machinery was put in place in the builder's yard, the problem of securing coal on the voyage out to Oregon, caused her owners to send her under sail, fitting the paddle-wheels into place after her arrival. The *Beaver* reached her station in the spring of 1836, and remained a familiar sight on the Northwest coast for over half a century.¹

Credit for the establishment of the first regular steamer service on the west coast of the Americas must go to William Wheelwright, a New Englander, who during a number of years spent in business in South America, was increasingly impressed with the possibilities of a line of steamers between Panama and Valparaiso. He began his agitation in 1834, and four years later his efforts were rewarded with the chartering, in England, of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. In 1840, Wheelwright brought two 800-ton steamers, the *Peru* and *Chili*, to the Pacific by way of the Straits of Magellan, under their own steam. The difficulties which he encountered in setting up the line of steamers were of enormous proportions, but in their conquest he laid the foundations of a steamship company which has lasted down to the present day.²

Thus, at the time of the inception of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, three steamers were in operation on the Pacific coast of the Americas; two of them coasting between densely settled areas, more obviously able to

support them than the coast of North America, and the third engaged in a highly specialized service, over short runs, and in a region in which the coal problem could be settled by burning wood.

Within a short time after the assignment of the mail contract to Aspinwall, and before the formal incorporation of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, orders were placed for the construction of the three steamers stipulated in the contract. The keels of two of the vessels were laid in the yards of William H. Webb shortly after the first of January, 1848.³ Webb, whose yard was then located at the foot of Sixth Street in New York, was one of the outstanding shipbuilders of the decade, and even of the century, and from his yards came not only steamers and warships, but some of the most famous of the clipper fleet.⁴ The progress of the work on the two hulls was rapid. The *California* was launched on May 19, 1848.⁵ The *Panama* had been somewhat damaged by a fire which swept part of Webb's yard on the evening of April 8, 1848, and her launching was delayed by necessary repairs to the hull.⁶ The third of the steamers, named *Oregon* was laid down in the yards of Messrs. Smith and Dimon, and was launched on August 5, 1848.⁷ The building of the ships was superintended by Captain William Skiddy, representing the Navy Department, while Captain R. H. Pearson was appointed by Aspinwall as the supervisor for the Pacific Mail.⁸ The three vessels were of approximately the same size, the *California's* tonnage being 1,057, that of the *Panama*, 1,087, and the *Oregon*, 1,099.⁹ In length the *California* was 200 feet, with a 33.6 foot beam, and a 20-foot depth of hold. Her engine and boilers were the work of the famous Novelty Iron Works of Messrs. Stillman, Allen and Company, being of the side-lever type, with a cylinder 5 feet, 10 inches in diameter, and an 8-foot stroke, driving the side wheels. While it had a nominal horse power of 208, it was said that it could safely be worked up to 300. On her sailing day, it was estimated that the *California* made about 12 miles an hour going down New York Harbor.¹⁰ During the voyage between New York and Callao, her best day's run was 285 miles; an average of 11.87 miles an hour. For a period of 42 days' steaming on the same trip, she averaged 208.33 miles per day, or 8.68 miles an hour.¹¹

Each of the steamers had only two boilers, which was considered a serious disadvantage when Commodore Perry and Commander Cunningham reported to the Navy Department on the effectiveness of the ships in 1850.¹² These boilers were of the flue type, and salt water was used in them. The steamers were not large enough to carry sufficient fresh water for the boilers, and distilling plants were not a part of the steamship equipment of the day. On the trip out from New York, Dr. Stout commented:

"We are every day discovering badly finished work in the ship. It is now the pipes for blowing out the salt from the boilers, which are defective, and occasioned us a loss of twenty-five minutes yesterday, during which the steamer stopped for repairing them."¹³

The *California* sailed from New York with over 500 tons of coal aboard, which must have been her full capacity.¹⁴ Steamers of that period consumed very large quantities of fuel, and for such vessels as those of the Pacific Mail, which were required to make long runs between coaling ports, the proportion of the ship which was taken up by coal bunkers was very great. The draft of the *California*, when fully completed, with water in the boilers, but with no coal, was 9 feet, 5 inches. This was increased to 15 feet, 8 inches, or a difference of 6 feet, 3 inches, when she had her coal and cargo on board.¹⁵ As the coal was used up, there were no tanks which could be filled with sea water, as in a steel ship, and the vessel rode higher and higher as the voyage progressed. The chief engineer of the *Oregon* reported that as the coal ran low, the "vessel [was] very light and rolling much. Wheels out of water half the time . . .", and again, "Burning wood and small coal mixed. Ship rolling paddles 6 feet out of water."¹⁶

White and live oak and cedar went into the hull of the *California*, the under-water body being sheathed in copper. The lines of the steamer were remarkably fine, not being materially different from those of the clippers which were being turned out by Webb at the same period. In that day, a steamer was to all intents and purposes a sailing vessel hull fitted with engine and boilers, and though the stems of the Pacific Mail ships were straighter, and their bowsprits were shorter, their general plan was much like that of a sailing vessel.

The run for which the steamers were intended was along a sparsely settled coastline, and provisions were not made for the accommodation of large numbers of passengers. In the *California* there were staterooms for 50 or 60 cabin passengers. These were in the after part of the steamer, and opened into the dining saloon. Forward, there were open berths built along the side of the ship which would accommodate 150 to 200 steerage passengers. "The owners of the *California* have built her for service—not show; and though her cabins have a richness of adornment which challenges great commendation, still there is no useless luxury in her appointments. Comfort, not display, has been the object desired to be attained, and we think it has been achieved entirely."¹⁷

The steamers each carried three masts and were rigged as "brigantines." In their dimensions and particulars, the *Panama* and *Oregon* were virtually the same as the *California*.¹⁸

The early Pacific Mail steamers compared favorably in size with other vessels of their day, though the service for which they were planned did not require them to be as large as trans-Atlantic liners. The pioneer Cunard steamer *Britannia*, built in 1840, was 207 feet long, and had a tonnage of 1,150, while the Cunarder *America* of 1848 was 251 feet in length, and of 1,825 tons. The marvel of the day was the American steamer *Atlantic*, built in 1850, measuring 282 feet in length, and with a tonnage of 2,860.¹⁹

The famous clipper ship *Flying Cloud*, built in 1851, was 235 feet long, and of 1,139 tons.²⁰

While the steamers were fitting out in New York, there was some doubt in marine circles as to their ability to make the voyage to the Pacific, despite the fact that it had previously been made by British steamers.

Howland and Aspinwall were clients of Mr. Benedict my partner in the law, and I had occasion to know more or less of their movements and projects, which were talked over in the office by those gentlemen and others, and the question was often discussed by them whether a steamer could double Cape Horn, and whether it was a fact that could be safely accomplished. They were side-wheel steamers, and the insurance on what little amount they did effect was at enormous rates, as it was considered so doubtful by seafaring men and merchants whether these steamers could get around Cape Horn.²¹

The coast to which the Pacific Mail steamers were going was devoid of machine shops, and when the *California* sailed from New York, she carried a complete set of spare machinery, as well as provisions to last a year.²²

Alfred Robinson, who had conferred with Aspinwall at the time of the founding of the company, was made the California agent. Before Robinson's return to the Pacific coast, Captain Stout acted as general agent there, and late in 1848, he made a trip to Vancouver Island to arrange with the Hudson's Bay Company to supply coal for the steamers from their mines there. He returned to San Francisco from this mission on December 4, 1848, and it was announced that "coal vessels have already arrived with coal for the lower part of the line."²³ Negotiations had evidently been going on for some time with regard to this coal, for in December, President Aspinwall wrote Robinson, "I send you an extract from a recent letter of Governor Simpson, showing the arrangement with the Hudson Bay Company for our future supplies of coal . . ."²⁴ Fuel was not brought from one source alone, however, for when the *California* sailed from New York, the coal ship *Superior* was already on the high seas, bound from England for San Francisco.²⁵

The ships had been built, the agents had been appointed, the fuel had been arranged for, it only remained to set the whole fabric in motion.

[To be continued]

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1199.
2. F. G. Young, "The history of railway transportation in the Pacific Northwest," in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 2, June, 1911, pp. 172-89.
3. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer* (New York, 1880), p. 141.
4. J. M. Shively, *Route and distances to Oregon and California* (Washington, D. C., 1846).
5. *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1847, p. 1360.

6. U. S. *Statutes at large*, V, 748-50.
7. *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 183.
8. *Ibid.*, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., p. 480.
9. U. S. *Statutes at large*, IX, 187.
10. *Ibid.*, IX, 200.
11. *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1847, p. 1323.
12. U. S. *Statutes at large*, IX, 187-88.

Edward E. Dunbar, *The romance of the age; or the discovery of gold in California* (New York, 1867), pp. 49-54. Hereafter cited as Dunbar, *Romance of the age*.

According to Dunbar, a Mr. J. M. Woodward of New York had been called into conference by President Polk in 1845, to assist him in planning some means of conveying large numbers of emigrants from the Atlantic coast to Oregon. Woodward submitted plans for transporting them by way of the Isthmus of Panama, which were approved by Polk, but which were not carried out because the settlement of the Oregon boundary question in 1846 made the rapid population of the area unnecessary. In his investigations, Woodward became interested in commerce on the Pacific coast, and when Sloo and Collins were applying for subsidies for their Chagres and Liverpool lines, Woodward framed a bill to cover the route between Panama and Astoria. When the act was passed, either by accident or intent, Woodward's name was left out of the engrossed bill, and the Secretary of the Navy felt bound to advertise for bids. Woodward put in a bid of \$300,000 per year for ten years, and an associate of his bid \$150,000 for propeller steamers. Arnold Harris, as a speculation, bid \$199,000 per year. The contract was awarded to Woodward's associate, but with such conditions that he was forced to withdraw. Before this time, Harris had bound himself to assign the contract to Woodward, should it come to him, but when it was his, he paid no attention to his bond, and "hawked" the contract about New York for several months, in a vain attempt to find a buyer. General Armstrong, then American Consul at Liverpool, who was a relative of Harris, induced William H. Aspinwall to take the contract, and it was assigned to Aspinwall without the knowledge of Woodward. When the latter learned of the transaction, a fierce legal battle ensued between Woodward and Harris and Aspinwall, in which Woodward was bested.

This story is repeated in *First steamship pioneers*, pp. 22-26, and has gained rather wide circulation, though the Dunbar account is the earliest known to the writer, and seems to be the basis of all the others. No hint of these transactions is found in the Government Documents, and in his *Diary*, Polk makes no mention of any relations with Woodward. The logic of the story is somewhat difficult to follow at times, and Harris's reason for desiring to keep the contract out of the hands of Woodward is not entirely clear. Further, the contract was assigned to Harris only on November 16, 1847, and was re-assigned by him to Aspinwall on November 19, 1847, giving it little time to be "hawked" about New York. The evidence is not conclusive.

13. *Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, 1847, pp. 955-56.
14. *Senate documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., no. 50, pp. 55-56.
15. *Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, 1847, pp. 955-56.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 955-56.
17. *Senate documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., no. 50, p. 55.
18. Richard J. Purcell, "Aspinwall, William Henry," in the *Dictionary of American biography* (New York, 1928), I, 396.
19. Alfred Robinson, "Statement of recollections on early years of California" (MS in Bancroft Library), p. 25. Hereafter cited as Robinson, "Statement."
20. *House miscellaneous documents*, 43rd Cong., 1st sess., no. 255, pp. 13-15.

21. Mason to Aspinwall, June 10, 1848; *Senate documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., no. 50, p. 60.
22. U. S. *Statutes at large*, IX, 267.
23. *Senate documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., no. 50, p. 56.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. E. W. Wright (ed.), *Lewis and Dryden's marine history of the Pacific Northwest* (Portland, 1895), pp. 15-18.
2. William Wheelwright, *Statements and documents relative to the establishment of steam navigation on the Pacific* (London, 1838), pp. 3-21; Harry Parker and Frank C. Bowen, *Mail and passenger steamships of the nineteenth century* (London, 1929).
3. *Star and Californian*. Nov. 25, 1848, p. 2, col. 4.
4. John H. Morrison, *History of New York shipyards* (New York, 1909), p. 95. Hereafter cited as Morrison, *Shipyards*.
5. Thomas C. Lancey, "Journal of Thomas C. Lancey on U. S. S. *Dale*," MS in Cowan collection, II, 180. Hereafter cited as Lancey, "Journal."
6. Morrison, *Shipyards*, pp. 102-3.
7. *New York Herald*, August 4, 1848, quoted in *Alta California*, February 15, 1849, p. 1, col. 4.
8. R. H. Pearson, "Memoir," in *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 3, 1868, p. 1, col. 1. Hereafter cited as Pearson, "Memoir."
9. The standard American tonnage measurement up to 1865 was by cubic feet contained within the ship, commonly known as "carpenter's measurement." This was obtained by multiplying the extreme length of the ship, minus one-third of her beam, by the beam, and by the depth, and dividing the result by 95. James A. H. Murray, *New English dictionary* (Oxford, 1888), II, pt. 1, p. 128; *Century dictionary* (New York, 1906), VII.
10. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 9, 1848, quoted in Victor M. Berthold, *The pioneer steamer "California"* (New York and Boston, 1932), pp. 5-7. Hereafter cited as Berthold, *California*.
- William Henry Webb, *Plans of wooden vessels . . . built by W. H. Webb* (New York, 1897); George F. Emmons, *The Navy of the United States, from the commencement, 1775 to 1853* (Washington, 1853), p. 36.
11. Arthur B. Stout, "Log of the steamship California, Oct. 6, 1848, to Feb. 28, 1849," MS in Bancroft Library. The log is carried only as far as December 31, 1848.
12. *Senate documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., no. 50, pp. 14-15.
13. Arthur B. Stout, "Journal," quoted at length in *First steamship pioneers*, pp. 99-100. Hereafter cited as Stout, "Journal."
14. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 9, 1848, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 7.
15. William Henry Webb, *Plans of wooden vessels . . . built by Wm. H. Webb* (New York, 1897).
16. "Engineer's log, P. M. S. S. Co.'s S. S. *Oregon*," Voyages 1-10, 1848-1851. MS in De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. Hereafter cited as "Engineer's Log of *Oregon*."
17. *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, October 7, 1848, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 5.
18. *Panama*: 200'x33.6'x20', 1 side-lever engine and 2 flue boilers; diameter of cylinder, 5'10", length of stroke, 8'; diameter of side wheel, 26', width of side wheel, 8'9", number of paddles, 22; total fire surface, 3,636; nominal horsepower, 208; engines and

boilers designed and constructed at Allaire Works, New York. *Oregon*: 200'x34'x20'; engine details same as *Panama* except number of paddles, which was 24; engine by Novelty Iron Works.

19. Arthur J. Maginnis, *The Atlantic ferry* (London, 1900).

20. Octavius T. Howe and Frederick C. Matthews, *American clipper ships, 1833-1858* (Salem, 1926), I, 190.

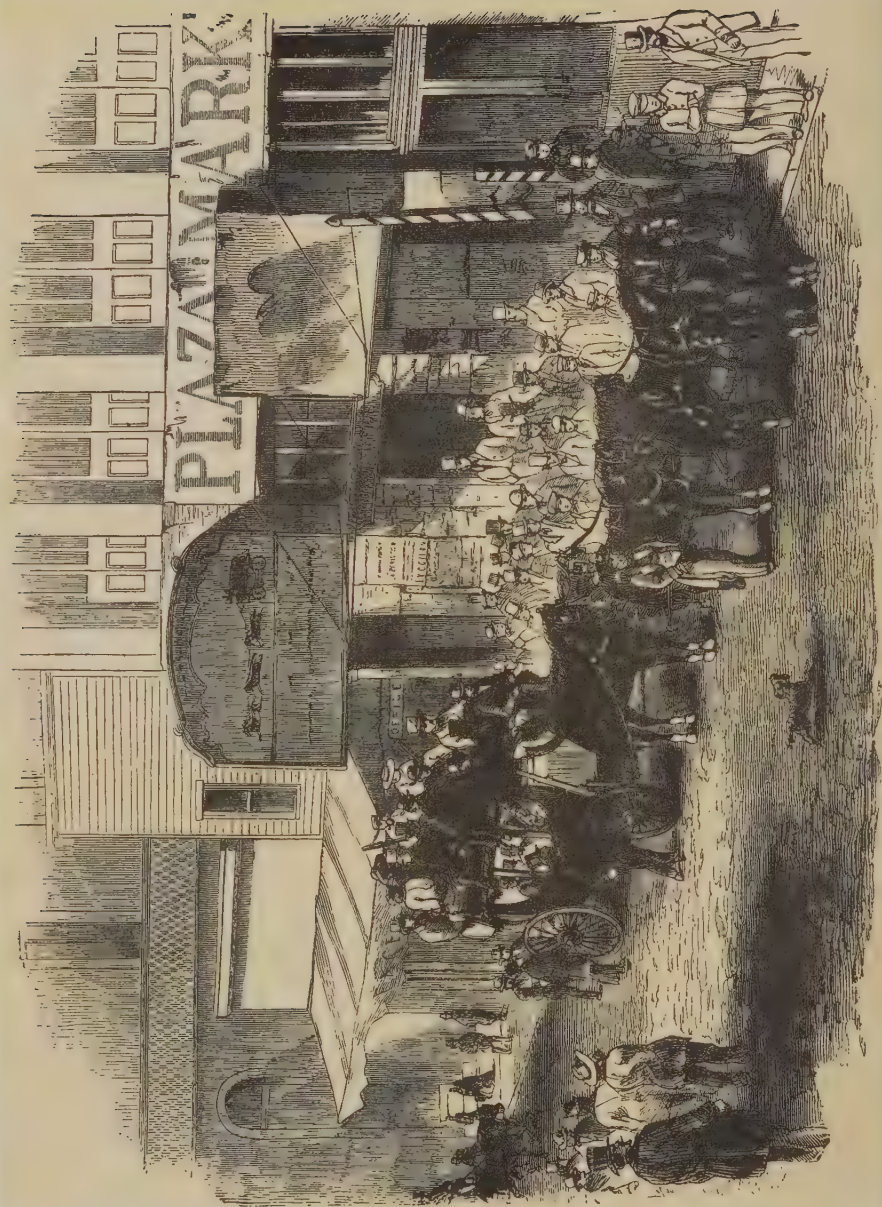
21. Elisha Oscar Crosby, "Memoirs and reminiscences of E. O. Crosby." MS in Henry E. Huntington Library. Hereafter cited as Crosby, "Memoirs."

22. New York *Daily Tribune*, October 9, 1848, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 6.

23. *California Star and Californian*, December 7, 1848, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

24. Aspinwall to Robinson, December 8, 1848; *Pacific Mail*, Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1920), pp. 4-5.

25. Pearson, "Memoir."



San Jose Stage leaving station on Kearny Street between Clay and Merchant Streets, San Francisco

Drawn from an 1856 photograph

STAGE-COACH DAYS IN CALIFORNIA

REMINISCENCES OF H. C. WARD

Edited by Oscar Osburn Winther

There are but few documents which relate to the early stage-coach operations in California. This is particularly true for the period 1849-69. For this reason it is no easy task for the California historian to trace the origins and development of a transportation system, namely, the stage-coach business, which was destined to play a most important rôle in shaping the economic and social organization of this state before the coming of the railroads.

The reminiscences of H. C. Ward which are presented here are among the few documents which touch directly upon the subject of staging. Ward was himself a stage driver.* He drove one of the first stages to operate between San Francisco and San Jose, and he was for a long time a leading "whip" for the California Stage Company, which concern was the largest of its kind during the fifties.

The manuscript under consideration was written by Ward about the year 1894 and comprises part of a letter copying book which also contains numerous duplicate letters which Ward had written in 1893-94 as superintendent of Wells, Fargo and Company's stables in Portland, Oregon.

With only slight changes in punctuation, the following is a verbatim copy:

*According to Mrs. Mae Helene Bacon Boggs, in an article in the *Daily Siskiyou News*, Aug. 22, 1931;

"Our first pioneer stage driver, Henry C. Ward, handled the ribbons in September, 1849, when he started from the plaza in San Francisco, reaching San Jose in 9 hours. In the summer of 1850, he drove out of Sacramento when the stages went to Marysville.

"In July, 1860, Portland, Oregon, had the honor of receiving Henry C. Ward, holding the ribbons and the long struggle for stage communication on land between Sacramento and Portland was realized. . . .

"He gave up driving to become a messenger for Wells, Fargo & Company. When he became incapacitated, as is their custom, they cared for him until his death on March 3, 1904. He was a native of Connecticut. No driver carries his record for territory covered: San Jose, California, to Portland, Oregon."

Extract from a letter of A. La Forest to G. E. Dawson of Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company, dated August 13, 1934:

"Yes, I recall Mr. Ward, having come in daily contact with him up to the time of his death. As far as I know Mr. Ward was kept on pension by Wells Fargo & Co. Express from the time of his retirement until he reached his home station."

WARD'S REMINISCENCES

The first Staging in this part of California was done by Jhon Whistman and was run betwene San Francisco and San Jose in the fall of 1849 but was compelled to haul off after the first rain as there was No settled roads in the country. The stock was then put on from San Jose to Alviso (the head of San Francisco bay distance 8 miles); pasengers went from there to San Francisco in boats.¹

The first drivers were Tom Calloway, Dawson Calvin & Ward.² Early in the spring of 1850 Whistman stocked the San Francisco road again and Ackley and Morrison (from Mexico) put on an opposition Stage. The drivers were Stanley and Morrison.³ In the summer of 1850 Waren Hall,⁴ William Hall, and JB Crandall,⁵ all from the Notional road runing betwene (Very Cruz and the City of Mexico), bought the Whistman Stageing, and soon after contracted to carry the Mail daily to San Jose and try weekly to Monterey for 32000⁶ a year. [Fare per] Passenger was \$32.00 or two oz gold dust.⁷

Before Hall & Crandalls time the st[a]geing was poor. Any kind of a spring waggon that was large enough was a stage, Whistman had an old French omnibus. The stock was Mules and Mustangs and [was] badly cared for—turned out to grass for feed, and an open cor[r]al for stable. Time about 9 hours—Not regular.

Hall & Crandall commenced improving the stock and establish[ed] stations and put feed on the road. Hay and Grain from Austraila (plenty of wild oats but Nothing to cut them with). They put four teams on each side. Two six horse teams out of San Francisco and two out of San Jose and four five Mule teams on the Middle route.⁸

The first thourbrace [thorough-brace] stage wagons were brought across the plaines by William Beeks in 1850 and bought by Hall and Crandall with twenty head of big emigrant horses. The waggons were fourteen passenger Mud waggons seating twelve passengers inside and two outside with the driver. Dickey seats were put on back and front Makeing seats for twenty passengers.⁹ The first drivers (other than the proprietors) was Jhon Dillon and Jhon Jenkins. Dillon was from Mexico. I am Not sure about Jenkins. The drivers from Mexico were all from the US Mail Stage routs. When Don Jose Saratuso contracted to carry the Mails for the Mexican g[o]vernment it was carried on French and German diligences hauled by six or More Mules handled by postilions rideing the Near animal of each pair.

The art of driving six or More animals by one using reins to guide them was Not known in Mexico. Don Jose after inspecting the Mail carrying of the different countrys decided that that the US system was the best and sent there for Coaches harness &c and employed the best drivers that could be

found. They were to have a salary of \$100.00 per Month, a servant and all expences paid. That accounts for American drivers being in Mexico and the discovery of Gold in California for ther being there. Drivers salary on the San Jose and San Fran road was \$300.00 per Month but that was a small part of their income as the perqusetes was big. There was No Mail¹⁰ or Express¹¹ at the time and drivers receevid pay for all letters & packages besides one per cent for all Money caried by them; letters left at the office 25 cts, if delivered \$1.00; an erand Nt less than \$1.00; passenger way fare \$1.00 or less went to the driver.¹² Passengers riding on the seat with the driver was supposed to treat the driver to drinks and cigars on the road. Drinks was free to drivers at all stations but it was seldom that drivers drank on the road.¹³ Dillon & Jenkins were temperence Men. After them was Nelson Hedg, George Gordon, Jesse Couch, Carley Robinson and others.

In 1850 the road from Sacramento to Marysville was stocked by Jhon Sharp (a rancher on Bear River); a Man Named Dirkey put on an opposition. Hall & Crandall contracted to carry the Mail from Sacramento to Shasta in 1851¹⁴ and bought Sharp & Dirkey off.¹⁵ There was Not enough broke horses in the country to stock the road from Marysvill to Shasta and they was compelled to use wild ones. At this time it was concidered a disgrace by the Spanyards to use Mares for any thing but breeding. There was thousands of wild Mares in the lower part of the State. The price from \$4.00 to \$6.00 per head; but as we were pressed for time and wanted onley the best we contracted with Don Jaun Foster¹⁶ to give us the pick of all the wild Mares in the country and deliver them to us in Los Angelus for \$20.00 per head.

We tried to get Mares about six years old and weight about eleven hundred. On March 1st 1851 Foster delivered to us five hundred Mares and fourteen Stalions. In twenty days we had them on Hall & Crandalls ranch (Mountainview) and commenced to break them to harness. They had Never been lassoed by the Neck (ranchers lasso them by the forward feet and throw them as they are cought to brand and cut the hair from there tails & Manes), and when caught by the Neck Made a fight for life. They were coraled in the Morning, twenty or thirty were lassoed and tied down and the ballance turned out. Then a strong rope halter with a blind attached is put on and with about twenty feet of strong rope they are tied, a stake drove in the ground and they halterbreak themselves. After a few days at the stake they were harnessed; and—three wild Mares with [a] gentle or broke horse in the Near lead, with the off Mare strapped to his hame ring—the Mare[s] was blindfolded and hitched to breaking waggon. When all was ready [they] raise this blind and let them go. They are frightened to Make them start, but when they find they can go they Make things lively. As soon as they learn to start they are put together in four or six horse teams until they are used to the bits and [to] being guided by lines. They then put on

a line from San Jose to San Fran (other than the Mail) with six horse Mustang stock with two drivers on each coach and No stops betwene stations. They was kept at work in that way and by the Midd[1]e of June 300 or 400 was stage horses. They were generally worked in six horse teams and kept on valley routs, and well broke American horses was used in the Mountains. Some of the Mares were crippled and a few killed but those that was good stage horses Never forgot to leave a station in a run. In 1851 Warren Hall went to Concord NH and ordered coaches built for the road.¹⁷ They were Concord runing gear but instead of the paneld drivers seat and rack for bagage, they had the leather back and front boot of the Troy Mail coach, and a back and front dickey seat added. They seated seventeen passengers, Nine inside and eight out side; but twenty two or three was Not unusual. Ther was two twenty-six coaches built for Sacramento & Marysville accommodation; No room for Mail. They seated twelve inside and fourteen outside; thirty five was Not unusual in a rush. The drive[r]s from Sacramento to Marysville was: Big Jake (Goin), Jhon Green, William Gardner, Jhon Littlefield and others. The drivers from Marysville to Shasta was: Gilbert House, James Lattimer, (Irish Curley) Cady, William Mayhew, Connelious Driscoll, Cas Combs, H. Woodworth (Woody), Dan Wentworth, Long Norton, Big John Smith, Jhon Spink, Billey Bert, Wilber, Lew Burk, Hays, and others. The end of the road toward Yreka was French Gulch, sixtten Miles above Shasta,¹⁹ Jonney Craddock driver.²⁰ Passengers for Yreka went on Mules from French Gulch to Callahans Ranch, passing over Trinety and Scots Mountains. George Greathouse owned the Mule team.

George F Thomas was Suprintindant of Hall & Crandalls Staging from Sacramento to French Gulch.

NOTES TO STAGE-COACH DAYS IN CALIFORNIA

1. See Frederic Hall, *History of San José and Surroundings* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 236. According to this writer the ground over this route became, in the winter of 1849, "so soft that wheels soon sank to the hubs."

2. H. C. Ward, the author of this manuscript.

3. The following advertisement appeared in the *California State Journal*, San Jose, March 15, 1851:

EXPRESS,
TO AND FROM SAN FRANCISCO, by ACKLEY & MORRISON'S
Stages and Steamer JENNY LIND
Letters and Parcels forwarded and delivered by

Agents.	Offices.
Mess. Thompson & Hitchcock	New York
" E. B. Higgins	New Orleans.
" John M. Hart	Liverpool.
" G. E. Clark	Sacramento c'y
" M. & B. F. Cheeseman	Marysville.

" R. O. Williams	Monterey.
" J. Elliott	Portland, O'n.
" Mitchell & Hutchins	Honolulu, S. I.

JOSEPH W. GREGORY,
Proprietor and Manager,

Cor. Montg'y and Merchant sts., San Francisco.

4. Warren F. Hall.

5. Jared B. Crandall.

6. Hall and Crandall were awarded a four-year United States government mail contract in May, 1851. The compensation was to be \$6,000 annually. See *32nd Cong., 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 56*.

7. This fare was reduced to \$10 on October 1, 1851. See *Alta California*, October 1, 1851.

8. The terms of this government contract called for the use of six-horse coaches. See *32nd Cong., 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 56*. For an interesting account of a stage ride on a Hall and Crandall stage-coach between San Francisco and San Jose, see Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections* (New York, 1880), pp. 375-76.

9. After the arrival of Concord coaches in California the mud wagons were used more for mountain travel. They were lighter in weight than the Concord coaches, and they were built lower to the ground to reduce the danger of capsizing. See J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London, 1857), p. 102; Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills* (New York, 1855), p. 231. See also Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Express and Stage-Coach Business in California, 1848-60," Ph. D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1934, pp. 177-79.

10. Monthly mail service had been provided for California in 1848, but this was inadequate. By the close of 1849 there were post offices in San Francisco and several other towns, but the government had made no provision for the distribution of mail in many populated communities. See *Messages of the President, 30th Cong., 2d Sess., No. 1*, p. 12; *Annals of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1855), pp. 260-61.

11. Express service did exist in 1849, but it was largely carried on by small concerns. Stage drivers, for example, frequently carried express along their routes. Alexander H. Todd asserts that he started the first express company in California in June, 1849. See Alexander H. Todd, "Statement," Bancroft Library, printed in E. A. Wiltsee, *The Pioneer Miner and the Pack-Mule Express* (S. F., 1931), pp. 33-37; Winther, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-69. Once started, the express companies developed so rapidly in California that on January 17, 1850, the *Alta* remarked: "There are so many express companies daily starting that we can scarcely keep the run of them."

12. Long before organized express companies emerged it had been the custom of stage drivers to do such errands along their respective routes which in fact amounted to express service. See Malcolm Keir, *The March of Commerce* (New Haven, 1927), p. 157.

13. The stage drivers were generally believed to be sober, dependable men. See Borthwick, *op. cit.*, p. 103, H. H. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 327.

14. Although the first stage line into Shasta was that of Baxter and Monroe, in the spring of 1851, according to Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs (*Daily Siskiyou News*, August 22, 1931), it was not until June, 1852, that Hall & Crandall's stages began running to Shasta. Mrs. Boggs quotes the following advertisement from the *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1852:

"New Stage Line from Sacramento City to Shasta

"United States Mail Daily

"The above named line, just established from Sacramento City, through Marysville to Shasta, is stocked with superior American horses, entire new harness, and the finest Concord coaches, superior to any ever brought to this country.

"The proprietors of this line pledge themselves to the traveling community, that they will put them through with more expedition, more care, cheaper, and in better style than any line on this route.

"They have the utmost confidence in offering this pledge from the fact that the drivers employed on the line are all experienced in their business, and are temperate and responsible men, and passengers favoring this line may rely upon every attention being shown them.

"We ask passengers who have patronized other lines to give us one trial, when we think they will be satisfied that heretofore they have been imposed upon.

"The stages leave Sacramento City daily at 7 o'clock A. M. and arrive at Shasta the following day at 12 noon. Leave Shasta at 7 A. M. and arrive at Sacramento City the following day at 12 noon, in time to take the steamers for San Francisco, which leave that place at 2 P. M., making the running time from Shasta to San Francisco 36 hours.

"This being the daily United States Mail, the stages stop at the following intermediate places:

"*Nicholas, Plumas, Eliza, *Marysville, Charlies Ranch, *Hamilton, Neal's Ranch, *Bidwell's Ranch, Oak Grove, *Lawson's [Lassen's] Ranch, *Tehama, Red Bluff, Cottonwood Creek, Clear Creek.

"Offices: New Orleans Hotel, Sacramento City; United States Hotel, Marysville; El Dorado or Globe Hotel, Shasta City.

"Each place marked thus (*) is a post town.

"For further particulars enquire at the offices of Berford & Co. corner of Clay & Kearny streets, San Francisco.

"Hall & Crandall, proprietors."

15. See Harry L. Wells, *History of Siskiyou County* (Oakland, 1881), p. 159. By the close of 1851 there were several competitive stage-coach lines operating between Sacramento and Marysville. See *Alta*, November 12, 1851.

16. John Forster, an Englishman, who had purchased the ex-mission estate of San Juan Capistrano. He was also grantee of Rancho de la Nacion (near San Diego) and Trabuco (near Los Angeles) and later bought the Santa Margarita Rancho (near San Diego) from his brother-in-law, Pio Pico.

17. The famous Concord coaches were made by the Abbott-Downing Company in Concord, New Hampshire. The following description of a Concord coach is taken from the article by Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs in the *Daily Siskiyou News*, August 22, 1931:

"The Concord coach, manufactured in Concord, New Hampshire, has an iron railing about the flat top to hold extra baggage; the bottom is curved, with the front and back boots a part of the body and hung on "jacks," supported on thoroughbraces, composed of many straps of heavy leather.

"Three on a seat was comfortable riding and the easiest place was the center seat inside; the two ends of which folded up to permit passengers access to the front and back seats; a broad, heavy leather band extends across, which makes a comfortable back.

"To permit passengers to enter, a step is attached to the front of the brakeblock, which is covered with heavy sole leather, where it checks the movement of the rear wheels. Old boot soles were used for this purpose. In those days all men wore boots.

There was always a keg of water with old soles soaking for this purpose, in the open shed of every corral and blacksmith shop.

"The seat on top, in front, is called the 'Dicky' seat. There being room for the feet back of the cushions on the driver's seat or 'box', where two passengers were accommodated.

"Where portable steps were not used, in order to reach the top seats one stepped on the hub of the front wheel, then to the rim, the third step to the front boot.

"The third outside seat is at the back and the passengers' feet are over the apron covering the back boot. This apron is of leather with straps buckled to the bottom to protect the baggage and keep it from falling off. . . .

"The apron on the front boot is not attached to the stage but snapped to the footboard and held up over the knees by being snapped to the sides of the stage. There is another snap separating the driver's seat, as he usually, unless the weather was stormy, kept his side thrown back, as his right foot had to be free to use the brake.

"The Concord coach is constructed of a very hard, tough wood, well painted with a high gloss. Curtains at the doors and windows are leather and kept rolled to the top (outside), except in stormy or cold weather. The seat cushions are leather and stuffed with the best curled hair.

"Across the top of the Concord coach is painted, above the doors and windows, 'Overland U. S. Mail.' 'Wells Fargo & Co.'s Express' is beneath the driver's seat. Name of the stage company was on the doors.

"The square lamps, with three sides glass, are attached at the back and below the driver's seat. During dark and stormy nights an extra lamp is attached to the center of the footboard. Large candles are used."

18. "Shasta was the terminus of stage activities until July 4th, 1856," according to Mrs. Boggs (*op. cit.*), "when the California Stage Company sent their first stage into Yreka, via Pit river route, with Jared Robbins holding the ribbons. He and Daniel Masten Cawley had been rivals for this honor so drew straws to decide the question. Cawley lost but had the honor of having taken the first stage over the Siskiyou, and when the book was closed it was "Uncle Dan" who drove the last stage over the same mountain, when on December 17, 1887, the railroad was completed between Sacramento and Portland."

For further information about the California Stage Company and its drivers see Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs, *op. cit.*, and Oscar Osburn Winther, "California Stage Company in Oregon," *The Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, June, 1934, pp. 131-38.

19. One of the California Stage Company's best drivers, who retired from stage driving in 1866 to become the agent at Shasta.

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA 1843-1856

THE MOERENHOUT DOCUMENTS

Edited by Abraham P. Nasatir

DOCUMENT XVI (CONTINUED)

July 30th, 1848

From Lydesdorph's farm to the fort of New Helvetia is between two and three leagues. On approaching from the east, this fort makes a very pretty sight, situated as it is on a slight eminence between the Sacramento River and the American. It is an enclosure (*carré*) about a thousand feet long by 150 wide, with a wall of *adobes* or sundried bricks of earth and straw, three feet thick, with battlements and cannon at the corners, but without a moat.

The construction of this fort was an extraordinary enterprise that showed more a spirit of chivalry than a desire for economy and business, for the expenditures must have been enormous and it is difficult to understand with what purpose.²⁶ The smallest blockhouse would have been sufficient for defense against the Indians, and any other project was visionary and blameworthy. For the California government of that time, 1842, having made an exception in favor of M. Sutter to the law which forbade foreigners to have possessions in the country, made him a gift of eleven leagues of land, and accorded other prerogatives to him that excited the jealousy of many or all of the foreigners and even that of the Californians, and that called for more than fidelity on M. Sutter's part.

M. Sutter had the merit of being the first to establish himself in a wild country, of subduing the Indians without warfare, without massacre, without even mistreating them, and of acquiring over them a great moral influence due to his kindness and his sweetness of character as well as to great sacrifices; but unfortunately without result either for the Indians or for himself, or for the country.

His establishment and his other enterprises attracted a great number of foreigners, and especially Americans, who, always finding hospitality, encouragement, aid or employment at the fort, lived there generally at the expense of M. Sutter until they were able to look over the country and settle there. It is a fact that nearly all the foreigners established in the Sacramento plain, many of whom have beautiful farms, cattle and other property, owe it to the protection, the assistance, the support, and the gifts

of M. Sutter. But so much generosity and prodigality, and perhaps also some unprofitable and extravagant enterprises, had so completely ruined him that toward the end of 1847 and at the beginning of 1848 he was several times reduced to selling his property, and had it not been for the recent discovery of the gold region he would have had no recourse but to leave his establishment and California, or to withdraw and go to live in a more modest estate in some other part of the country. But thanks to the discovery that resulted from his spirit of enterprise, all has changed for him. The fort of New Helvetia, situated in the very center of the principal diggings, in a region accessible in all seasons by water and by land, has become the center of commerce and traffic; the place where all the principal houses of Yerba Buena wish to have stores; from whence goods are sent out to all points in the placers, from the Cosumnes to the Feather River; where gold is brought to be exchanged for merchandise, provisions and all that is needed by those working in the gold region.

I made a late start from Lydesdorph's farm because one of my horses was unable to travel further and I was obliged to leave him with a Frenchman who was going to the "Lower Diggings," and to take the horse that he had hired from the fort at the rate of five dollars a day. It was noon when I reached the fort, and although forewarned, I was astonished at the [stir and] confusion that reigned there—men on foot and on horseback; wagons going in and out, some bringing goods from the Sacramento landing, others taking them to the different mining regions. Within, the square was filled with casks, boxes, bales and workmen, and there was such a crowd and such a stir that one would have thought himself either in a Turkish bazaar or in one of the most frequented market places of Europe. M. Sutter was not in his quarters and I had a great deal of trouble finding him in the midst of all the crowd and the tumult, but when he was informed of my arrival he soon came and received me with his usual affability.

As he had kept only one small room for his own use, however, he could no longer afford the hospitality that formerly one was sure to find there. He came with me to the hotel into which the old armory had been converted. All was in frightful confusion there. It was full and I had to wait for an American and his wife who were leaving that day to move out before I could get a room. This room had no other furniture than two old chairs, and cost two dollars a day.*

The fort, as I have previously said, is about one thousand feet long. All

*The room cost two and the food three—five a day. But their expenses were enormous. The house, which had only four rooms, a dining room, a kitchen, and a pantry, rented for five hundred a month. The cook drew one hundred and fifty dollars a month, and he did not care to stay at those wages. And besides the high price of provisions, the least servant, the worst scullion, had to be paid from three to four dollars a day. (Moerenhout's note.)

around the courtyard inside, it is divided into chambers and rooms, eighteen to thirty feet in length by fifteen to eighteen feet in width. They served formerly as lodgings for the Indian soldiers, of which M. Sutter had as many as two hundred. In the middle of the courtyard and extending about two-thirds of its length is the old armory. Now all is occupied and rented for gold; the armory as I have already said, for five hundred dollars a month; the other rooms and apartments at one hundred and fifty and two hundred dollars, and the total of the rent, according to what M. Sutter told me, came to eighteen hundred dollars a month, not including some houses outside, one of which was used as a hospital. The whole establishment soon would bring him, he hoped, from two to three thousand dollars a month.

I had no desire to remain long in the midst of this confusion and with men so tumultuously occupied. Another reason that hastened my departure was that we were then in the most unhealthful season and that I was in danger of catching the fevers that are dangerous and tenacious there and of which the fort and the whole vicinity of the Sacramento seemed already to be the principal focus. I had seen many sick at the American River, at the Yuba, and especially at the Feather. Here the hospital was filled. But notwithstanding my desire to leave promptly and to continue my journey, I had been trying in vain for four days to find a horse. As much as one hundred and fifty dollars was asked for miserable beasts that would not have carried me twenty leagues. At last M. Sutter advised me to rent one despite the price of five dollars a day and go to Vaca's farm,²⁷ where I could be sure of finding one at a better rate, and said that his Indian who was to serve me as guide could return the rented horse.

August 4th

This morning about seven o'clock I left the fort to continue my journey but with the intention of passing through the Suisun (*Sushun*), Napa (*Napé*) and Sonoma valleys, which I wished to see. M. Sutter gave me all the attention that his business and the tumult in the midst of which he lived would permit. Before my departure from the fort he told the master of the ferry that he had established in the Sacramento River, to take me over immediately, so that when I arrived at the river I found the boat waiting for me. This charming river, narrower at that point than the San Joaquin at the place where I had crossed it, seemed also to have but little current, for in rowing across we were able to make several *varas* upstream. Several sloops and small schooners were there, one of them discharging cargo. The mouth of the American River, that is within sight and scarcely a mile from the wharf, seemed to me, at least in this season, to have no influence upon the current of the Sacramento.

This pretty river has its source in the *Sierra Nevada* at about the forty-second degree north latitude. It runs first in a west-southwesterly direction,



Charles E. Orthwein

LE FORT SUTTER

From the original illustration in Ferry's "La Nouvelle Californie," published in Paris, 1850.
Doubtless this view of Sutter's Fort was copied from the lithograph which appeared in Jos. W. Revere's "Tour of Duty," New York, 1849.

and only takes its course to the south or parallel to the *Sierra* at about the forty-first degree. Quite unobstructed along nearly its entire length, it is navigable by boats drawing from five to seven feet up to one hundred and sixty miles from its mouth and from there to the fortieth degree north latitude by large row-boats. As its current is never very strong, even in the seasons of the greatest floods, it is ascended easily and quickly, with the aid of the normal wind; but the descent is long and tiring because of these same winds and the slowness of the current. Its mouth is in Suisun Bay, into which it flows after joining or after receiving the waters of the San Joaquin.

On both sides opposite New Helvetia its banks are high and for a space a league in width and several leagues long they afford an easy road in almost all seasons. This section, although in appearance dry and sandy, is well wooded and pretty, but a league and a half or two leagues below, on the west side of the river, are what are called the *tules* or reeds. It is a low section that is flooded in the rainy season by the river of *Los Putos* [Putah Creek],* a tributary of the Sacramento, and forms an immense lagoon, around which, from January to July, it is necessary to make a detour towards the north to reach the high banks of the Sacramento, which may then be followed toward the south as far as the landing. In this season, however, all of this section was dry and with the Indian guide that M. Sutter had given me I was able to go straight across it. According to the mark that I saw, this body of water must be more than three leagues wide and it is from this and other similar marshes, almost all of them formed by the overflowing of the Sacramento's western tributaries, that arise the miasmas which cause fevers and make all the vicinity of the Sacramento so unhealthy and so dangerous a place for white people to live in during the summer months.

This day's journey was a repetition of that of the 15th of July when I went from the Arroyo Seco to the Cosumnes River—an immense plain, all in flames, and a burning sun. One could hardly breathe. Toward eleven o'clock we came to a stream where the fire had spared quite a considerable space and where there was some grass and some shade. I had the horses unsaddled, intending to let the worst heat of the day pass before starting out again, although from there to Vaca's place was still about six or seven leagues. Toward four o'clock, the heat having lessened considerably, we took to the road again. Two leagues from there we crossed the *Putos* River [Putah Creek], in which there was very little water. It was nearly night when we arrived at Vaca's farm, which is situated at the western end of the plain in a little valley between the first hills.

*The river of *Los Putos* or *los liquitos* [Putah Creek], like the *Jesus Maria* River [perhaps Cache Creek], are not tributaries of the Sacramento, strictly speaking, for they both lose their identity in the marshes to the west of the Sacramento, and their waters form a lake during the rainy season and as late as July, and it is only when this lake overflows that the water reaches the Sacramento. (Moerenhout's note.)

From the 5th to the 12th of August

Having found a horse for the price of eighty dollars, payable at Monterey, I sent back M. Sutter's Indian and the horse that I had hired at the Fort. Don [Manuel] Vaca's farm is near the main road from the Sacramento to the Strait, to Suisun Bay, Napa and Sonoma valleys, etc. On the way to these places one goes through charming country, but since it is necessary to cross the rather high hills that form and divide the valleys of Suisun and Napa from Sonoma Valley, the journey is long and tiresome.

Suisun Valley is beautiful but less so than the valleys of Napa and Sonoma that are among the most beautiful and most fertile regions of Upper California, and it was there especially that the Americans who have come to this country during the past two years wanted to locate.

At Sonoma, or San Francisco Solano, where there were not more than five or six houses a year and a half ago, there are now more than sixty, and had it not been for recent events the plan of a large city subdivided into lots would have been carried out within a few years. But since the discovery of the gold region the progress of this town, like that of Yerba Buena and of Monterey and of the Pueblo of San Jose, has been suddenly brought to a standstill. Now, instead of its population increasing, it has lost two-thirds of its inhabitants. Most of its houses are empty, all work has stopped and there, as everywhere else, there is not a single carpenter left nor a joiner nor a blacksmith nor any laborer to do the least work. All have gone to the Placer or have come back from there too rich and too independent to resume their trades or to work for any man whomsoever.

The Napa Valley, like that of Sonoma, is about twelve leagues long by about two to four in width. The latter leads into Santa Rosa Valley and the two of them into the country to the north that is said to be of great beauty. In both of these valleys are constant streams of considerable size that flow through their whole length and connect with San Francisco Bay by creeks into which small schooners may enter.²⁸ They are also watered over their whole extent by many little brooks that flow down from all the mountain sides. To these great advantages must be added those of an extremely fertile soil and a mild healthful climate equal in all respects to the so much and so justly praised climate of the San Juan plain. Thus, going through this beautiful country, seeing these fertile virgin lands, this mild climate favorable to the cultivation of fruits and produce of all zones; this easy communication with the great and beautiful bay of San Francisco, navigable by vessels of any size from its entrance or from the port of *San Solito* [Sausalito] to the mouths of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers one is impressed with the idea of the future greatness and prosperity of this country. Though it may be momentarily retarded in its progress by the very excess of its riches, nevertheless it cannot fail soon to acquire a large population and to become within a few years the richest, the most flourishing, and the most powerful state on this coast.

From Sonoma to Carquinez Strait the road is difficult, but M. Guadalupe Vallejo, the former Commander of the northern department of Upper California who had shown me a thousand courtesies during my short stay with him at Sonoma, also had the kindness to give me a guide as far as Benicia or the Strait. M. Vallejo is married, has a large and charming family that he is rearing as best he can in a country where it is only possible to obtain mediocre tutors. He is the richest landowner of Upper California. He has several farms, more than 15,000 cattle, and 5,000 horses, and his large and handsome house is the only well-furnished one that I have seen in this country.

Before reaching Carquinez Strait and the new town of Benicia one goes through a labyrinth of dreary hills that are barely covered with a little grass, and this region, although not entirely arid, is very bare and so entirely without trees or other wood that there is not even enough for the use of its few inhabitants.

The project of building a city on the northwest side of Carquinez Strait to attract vessels and commerce as a connecting link between the north and south parts of San Francisco Bay was conceived by an American, a M. Simple [Robert Semple]²⁹ and M. Guadalupe Vallejo, who is the owner of all the surrounding territory and had a great interest in attracting settlers there. But one may not thus change at will the trend of affairs and the course of trade. Yerba Buena, besides, is in a fortunate position, a short distance from the entrance to the bay and at a place to which ships may come in all seasons of the year with the aid of good charts and without the need of a pilot and from which they may return to the sea with equal facility. Whereas to go up to the Strait and to the city of Benicia not only is the navigation difficult and dangerous but it would be almost impossible for a large ship to get back through the entrance of the Strait on its return, to which must be added that on account of the currents there is no safe and easy anchorage at the proposed city.

Thus, despite the articles in favor of this town that have appeared in the *Californian*, a newspaper published by M. Simple, and despite the assistance of one of the most influential business men of the country, M. [Thomas O.] Larkin, the former American Consul,³⁰ the port of Benicia is still virgin, and the city consists of but five or six houses erected by Messrs. Simple, Larkin, and other interested parties. It is probable that the project of establishing the city and a port there at the Strait would already have been entirely abandoned had it not been for the discovery of the gold region that suddenly established active communication between the north and south of this country and attracted thousands of people to the Sacramento and its tributaries to the north who in going there with wagons, animals, effects, merchandise, etc., constantly used the ferries, filled the few houses of the new city with people, gave life to it, and for the time being made it flourish.

These events have greatly changed its position and give it some promise for the future, for several of the northern provinces are entirely separated from those to the south by San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento River, and the place where the new town has been established is well chosen for communication between the two districts. Nowhere can this barrier be more easily crossed than at the Strait itself, and also, as before mentioned, one may go there from Monterey and from the more southerly parts of the state by a continuous chain of valleys and by roads as easy as they are beautiful. It therefore seems that, while Yerba Buena will always remain the principal port of San Francisco Bay and the commercial center of all Northern California, Benicia has escaped the desuetude to which it had seemed destined and it will probably acquire some importance after the population of California has increased and after a steam ferry can be substituted for the large flat sail-boats and row-boats that are now in use and that cannot withstand the violent winds and currents in this narrow passage and often take days to cross or, carried away by the currents or the winds, are in danger of being cast ashore and lost on the beaches or the islands in Suisun Bay or at the mouth of the Sacramento.

When I arrived at Benicia on the 9th of July [August] at about four o'clock in the afternoon, I found that there was only one boat left. The largest had gone adrift in Suisun Bay* and the remaining one was at the other side, but fortunately it returned during the night, and at noon of the 10th I went aboard with three other travelers and our horses. The winds and the tide being favorable, within twenty-five minutes we were on the opposite shore.

The usual landing place on the south-southeast side of the Strait is at the very entrance of the plain or *llanito*, little valley, and is the only place where it is possible to embark or disembark with wagons. But when there are only passengers and horses and the weather permits they try to draw up directly across from the Benicia landing. From there to the valley the only road is a steep and narrow path where one is obliged to go afoot and lead his horse.

On coming into the valley I was struck by its desolate state. Since leaving the Moquelumne River I had almost constantly been going through burned districts, still smouldering or partly ruined by fire, but nowhere had I seen such complete and general destruction—the valley, the mountains, all were black and frightful in appearance. Nothing had been spared. The wheat, the crops, had been burned; the trees were leafless; and over a space of more than eight leagues there was not a blade of grass to be seen, not an animal, not a living being. It was a dreary desert from which all had fled and where neither men nor animals could find the slightest nourishment.

*The larger of these two boats had several times been lost in this same manner. They are then obliged to cast oxen, horses, and all other cargo into the sea and even passengers have lost their lives in these shipwrecks. (Moerenhout's note.)

Upper California has always been exposed to these fires, for its plains and its mountains are covered with grass and wild oats which toward July are quite dry and will catch fire from the slightest spark. The least thing—a cigar tossed into the fields, the discharge of a rifle—is enough to set all aflame and to cause the most terrible fires. To this it must be added that the Indians, after they have made their harvest of wild grain, frequently set fire to the grass either intending to improve the next year's crop or to kill the rabbits, the hares, and other animals that they eat.

Formerly, when one of these fires approached a Mission, a farm, or some inhabited place, both whites and Indians joined and tried to stop the progress of the flames by uprooting shrubbery and clearing a certain space from grass, etc., or by any other means, so that these fires were then never so extensive or so destructive. This year, however, the roads are constantly filled with travelers who camp in the middle of the woods and the fields and, without taking the slightest precautions, light fires there that they fail to put out when they leave. In consequence, during the past two months fires have been almost general in the whole country and the ruin that they have caused is the more complete since the abandoned and deserted farms and those tended only by women have no means of stopping the progress of the fire, and in many places it has not only destroyed the pastures but also, as in this valley, the grain and all the products of the fields.

It was nine o'clock in the evening when we finally arrived at a place where there were some people. It was Don Juan Soto³¹ and his sons and they were living in an *enramada*, a branch covered shack. Their house and their wheat had been burned and they had built this hut to shelter themselves while they protected a field of corn from the cattle that could find no more pasturage and were wandering at large and attacking the fields of corn and of beans that, being still green, had partly escaped destruction by the fire. They offered me the best hospitality that they could in their miserable habitation, though except for fresh meat they had absolutely nothing to offer. They themselves slept on the ground, little sheltered from the cold north-west winds that blew strongly all night.

On the 11th before sunrise we were on our way to San José. It was about five or six leagues to the Mission and eleven to the Pueblo. As we went on we came into some regions that had escaped the fire and by their beauty made the terrible destruction seem the more regrettable. Toward the southern extremity of the valley where the two roads leading to the Strait and to the San Joaquin meet the fire had been stopped by the *Arroyo de Adentro* (inland stream), its ravages had altogether ceased, and this region still appeared in all its richness and beauty.*

*The son of M. [Antonio María] Suñol,³² to whom this beautiful spot belongs and who has a farm and many cattle, assured me afterwards that more than twenty times during six weeks he had been obliged to go there with Indians to extinguish fire set to the grass by the negligence of travelers, and he feared every moment the same fate as the other farmers of this valley—to see all his fields and his pastures destroyed by fire. (Moerenhout's note.)

At ten o'clock we arrived at the Mission where we found many people coming and going from the Placer, for this is the route by which all must pass whether they go by way of the Strait or of the San Joaquin. We stopped there only to take a little nourishment. It was two o'clock in the afternoon when I returned to M. [Antonio María] Suñol's at the Pueblo of San José, after an absence of one month to the day. The day after my arrival at the Pueblo, the 12th of July [August], was the feast day of Santa Clara and there was a special service at the Mission a mile from the Pueblo and a gathering of people that astonished me, but M. Suñol informed me that almost all the men of the Pueblo and of the environs had returned from the Placer to be present at the feast. He reckoned that from two to three hundred at least had come home within the week. A good many Americans and other foreigners had also returned and he thought that all together there were not less than five hundred and that they had each, or on the average, brought back with them a thousand dollars in gold. This value of half a million dollars in the hands of so many individuals disposed to spend a large part of it had immediately emptied all the shops and the stores; not a yard of cloth nor any other merchandise remained in the market place and gold was already being exchanged for silver at the rate of from 8 to 10 dollars for an ounce.

One can hardly conceive of the extraordinary changes occasioned in the condition and character of the people of this country by the discovery of the gold region. In Upper California there have never been any poor in the true sense of the word—that is to say, people in need. With the abundance of cattle and the extreme fertility of the soil no one ever lacks for food, but money was hardly known. What people needed for their persons or their houses, they obtained in exchange for hides, tallow, etc., and those who had ever possessed as much as five hundred or a thousand dollars were extremely rare in Upper California. Whereas now the lowliest, the most unfortunate among them, finds himself in possession of that much or of a much greater sum, obtained over night and with such ease that it seems of little importance to him and he parts with it and spends it with indifference and prodigality. The extraordinary thing is that the Americans themselves seem all to come back with the same disposition, spend extravagantly, throw away gold by the handful and assume an air of prodigious importance and generosity.

From the 14th to the 16th of July [August]

Having learned today that a Chilean ship, the *Sixth of June*, was to leave in two days from the port of Yerba Buena for Valparaiso, I profited by the offer of a Frenchman who was going to Yerba Buena to have put on board a little box of gold samples from the different gold regions and of other objects that I had procured during my journey and which I addressed to Your Excellency, as I had the honor to inform you by the letter that accompanied it.

On the morning of the 15th I left the Pueblo for Monterey, but it was a day's journey to the Mission of San Juan. The 16th I continued on my way over the *Sierra de San Juan*, a difficult, long and extremely tiresome climb for the horses. In the *Plaine de la Nation* [Rancho Nacional]³³ I found the farms and the villages almost entirely abandoned—the only inhabitants were a few women and children—and on entering Monterey I was struck by the silence that reigned there. Not a ship was in port, not a soul was to be seen in the streets, and I soon learned that all the men, Californians and foreigners, had left for the gold regions, and the Governor alone remained with a few officers, that the soldiers had deserted, and that there remained hardly enough to mount guard at the fort.³⁴

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, M. le Ministre,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XVII¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Monterey

October 15, 1848

Monsieur le Ministre:

On the 17th of last August I had the honor of addressing to Your Excellency a report² on the journey that I had just made in the northern part of Upper California, the principal object of which was to visit the gold regions that had recently been discovered in this country. These discoveries, far from decreasing, are constantly extending both to the north and to the south, but the spots most noted now for their richness and to which most people are going are the rivers Cosumnes, Mokelumne, Stanislaus, Merced,³ and the source of the San Joaquin, together with the hills and gulches that separate or lie between these rivers.

Just as I was writing this two Frenchmen, the Messrs. Fourcade,⁴ presented themselves at the Consulate on their return from the Placer with seventy pounds of gold. Two other Frenchmen who were working with them but who have remained at the Pueblo of San Jose have a like sum; that is to say, one of them, named Cinquantin, has forty pounds, and the other one, whose name I do not know, twenty-eight pounds. Nearly all this gold comes from a single gulch, about four hundred yards long and located about four leagues north of the Stanislaus. It has produced more than \$150,000. The most extraordinary thing is that this gold has been obtained without washing the dirt, for as water is entirely lacking there at this season they gather nothing but the large pieces and the grains that are visible and easy to pick up. It seems that in that region all the hills and the gulches between them are, as

at the dry diggings, so extraordinarily rich in gold that one must have seen with his own eyes in order to believe it. The Messrs. Fourcade on some days made a thousand, fifteen hundred, and even as much as two thousand dollars each.

During the past month or six weeks the number of gold miners has considerably increased, for with the exception of a few who are ill, almost all of those who had abandoned the work during the months of July and August, for fear of sickness or for other reasons, have returned. Since then, also, 400 people have come from New Mexico, 800 inhabitants of Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, etc., have gone to the mines, and to this number must be added 300 disbanded volunteer soldiers discharged during the past two months, 300 others recently arrived from Lower California, 500 deserters from the troops and from the various ships, and 200 people who have come from the Sandwich Islands and from Oregon. All together, it is safe to say that 4000 white men and 2,000 Indians are now mining for gold and that the daily yield is at least from 8,000 to 10,000 pounds. This extraordinary influx into the north has carried all the business with it and left the southern part deserted, inactive, and almost without resources. Except for warships, even Monterey no longer sees any vessels. Not one out of ten of the merchant vessels coming to Upper California drops anchor there. The Bay of San Francisco and its environs, the Pueblo of San Jose, and New Helvetia on the Sacramento, are the centers of activity and of commercial transactions. Yerba Buena is the port to which all the ships go and where all purchases are made. This state of affairs has obliged the Governor, without actually changing the capital, nevertheless to change his residence provisionally. He left Monterey at the beginning of this month to go to New Helvetia⁵ and later to stay for some time at the Pueblo of San José. The latter is truly the most suitable place for the establishment of the capital and of the government, for it is so beautifully and advantageously situated near the southern extremity of San Francisco Bay, almost equidistant from Monterey and from Yerba Buena, and is the principal center of travel from south to north and north to south, from which regular communication may best be maintained with the two principal ports, with New Helvetia, with the gold regions, and with all the northern and southern parts of the country. This move on the part of the Governor and the changes that have taken place in the course of trade may oblige me also to move my residence provisionally to the Pueblo of San José without actually changing the Consulate, and, if I find a person worthy of confidence, to name an agent at Yerba Buena; all in order that I may be able to give you more prompt information on the state of the country and of what is happening here.

Early this month the ship *Ohio*, Commodore [Thomas Ap Catesby] Jones, and the sloops *Warren* and *Dale* arrived here with 300 volunteers, also three transports with 400 inhabitants of Lower California who, having

declared themselves in favor of the Americans, have been obliged to leave their country. Among them are the former Governor, M. Palacio, several other Mexican Government employees, and a Catholic priest. They have all been transported here at the expense of the United States Government, which, moreover, has indemnified them for the loss of their houses, lands, cattle, etc., and has furnished them food and lodging here for two months.

Trade continues very active. At Monterey itself a French ship that took the Peruvian flag in China, *Le Pacifique*, commanded by M. Laurenul, a former naval student, has sold \$28,000 worth of goods in a few days. Purchases made at Yerba Buena during the months of July, August, and September were in excess of \$300,000, and merchandise of all kinds is still in demand. This increase in purchases and sales is due to the fact that most of the inhabitants of this country who had almost always been deprived of everything except food suddenly and for the first time find themselves in a position to satisfy all their needs and even their whims. Then, too, the Indians of the Sacramento and Tulare valleys and those of the Sierra Nevada are beginning to work on their own account and to exchange their gold for provisions and commodities at exorbitant prices. This trade is constantly increasing and could well become very advantageous for there are to be satisfied the needs of 30,000 to 50,000 people who instead of using what they buy squander it as soon as they get it.

I therefore think, Monsieur le Ministre, that one or two cargoes made up in accordance with the note that I had the honor to write Your Excellency, and even considerably increasing all the articles of food and clothing, would sell very well at any time and such ventures could not fail to yield a good profit. I must, however, inform Your Excellency that to anchor in the ports of this country now exposes the owners and operators of vessels to great trouble and serious losses on account of desertion. Nearly all of the ships that have come here during the past three months have lost their crews. Several are detained here for lack of men, and although wages of \$50 to \$100 per month are offered to sailors, there are none to be found.⁶

I have the honor to be, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your most respectful, very humble and obedient servant,

J. A. MOERENHOUT, Consul of France.

XVIII¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Monterey,

November 25, 1848

Monsieur le Ministre:

The commerce of this country is constantly increasing and Yerba Buena, on San Francisco Bay, having become the principal port of Upper California, the place where all merchant vessels go, where the new commercial

houses are being established, where all purchases are made, and from whence goods are transported to New Helvetia on the Sacramento, to the gold regions, and to all the northern part of this country, I concluded, as I had the honor to inform Your Excellency by my dispatch of the 15th of last October, that I should name a consular agent with residence at Yerba Buena. The person to whom I have entrusted this post is named Etienne Jourdain, and is a native of Besançon.² His appointment dates from the 15th of this month. M. Jourdain has been living in Upper California for eighteen months and is worthy of recommendation both for his talents and his conduct. I therefore hope that Your Excellency may see fit to approve and confirm this appointment.

By an approximate estimate, the purchases made on board the ships at Yerba Buena during the months of July, August, September, and October, amount to nearly 2,000,000 francs. The sales are made for cash or on fifteen to thirty days time with good security and payable in specie or in placer gold at \$16 an ounce.

Despite these large sales, goods are lacking or sell for exorbitant prices. At Monterey, to which the merchant vessels no longer come, the stores are empty and the few goods that are brought here from Yerba Buena are sold at from 30 to 50 per cent. above Yerba Buena prices. It is the same in all the other southern ports and, the coastwise trade being permitted only to vessels under the American flag, the freight from Yerba Buena to Monterey is at the rate of from \$40 to \$50 per ton. These high prices and all this ferment are due to the immense values that are constantly being put in circulation, for the quantity of gold in the hands of the Californians and foreign inhabitants is incalculable. The price of this metal has nevertheless increased. Some ships having arrived from Mazatlan and other Mexican ports with funds, the price of gold instead of being from eight to ten is now from ten to twelve dollars per troy ounce.

Judging from this state of affairs it is probable that for a long time yet this country will be an excellent market for ships coming from Europe. It is therefore to be hoped that some shipments have been sent from France, or that they be promptly sent, with cargoes made up according to the note I had the honor to send you, but increasing considerably the quantity of wines and brandies, the consumption of which is extraordinary and still increasing daily. Brandy now sells for \$8 to \$10 a gallon, wine from \$2 to \$5; wines are almost entirely lacking; flour sells from \$25 to \$30 per barrel; *bisquit fin* at \$15 and \$20 per cwt.; hams, tongues, preserved meats, sardines, etc., are not to be had; it is the same with ready made clothing, especially woolens. Everything is lacking — materials, clothing, liquors, and provisions — and two or three cargoes of from 300,000 to 500,000 francs would sell at from 100% to 200% profit. If any ships come out from France it is important that they should touch at Monterey, where a well-assorted cargo up to

\$100,000 in value would easily sell at from 20% to 30% above the Yerba Buena prices.

As I had suspected, and as I announced in the report that I had the honor to send you, gold is now found in all the gulches between the foothills of the Sierra Nevada from the American River to the Feather River and on up to the extreme north of California where this type of country (rounded hills 100 to 600 feet high) seems to end or is broken by the large chains of mountains that branch off from the Sierra Nevada and extend westward to the sea. Thus the known gold-bearing regions, in which mining has been conducted on a considerable scale, now extend 120 leagues from north to south, and gold is found there in all the gulches, in all the streams, and in all the hills over a width of 4 to 5 leagues; this without including the gold that is carried down by the rivers and the finest particles of which are found for 10 or 12 leagues into the valley. Despite the approach of the rainy season the mining operations are being continued avidly. More than 500 houses have been built in the different sections where washing for gold is carried on and more than 2,000 people propose to continue this work and to winter there.

The influx of immigrants is daily increasing; 12,000 to 15,000 have just arrived from Oregon and 500 to 600 from Lower California and Sonora. The ships from the Sandwich Islands, from Mexico, and from Valparaiso are filled with passengers for Yerba Buena. There are no longer houses enough at the Pueblo of San José to lodge all the foreigners and when the rainy season obliges a large number of those who are still at the Placer to return, many people will be without shelter, and, what is more serious, there will not be food enough for them. At Yerba Buena and at the Pueblo of San José, houses and land rent for exorbitant prices. Lots that the local authorities granted twelve or eighteen months ago for \$16, and that have only 48 to 75 feet frontage, have been sold for \$10,000 and as much as \$15,000.

But in the midst of all this most extraordinary prosperity vices are creeping in and advancing by great strides, especially drunkenness and gambling. The latter has already increased to a truly frightful extent. At Yerba Buena, at the Pueblo of San José, at Monterey, every public house, every saloon, is a den where gambling goes on night and day and where very large sums are put at risk. It is most distressing to see how general this vice has become among the Californians and even among the Americans. It is to be feared that there will soon result from this a general corruption and disorders that will be all the worse since the government, far from being able to arrest the progress of the evil, is without courts, without police, without military force, and without any means of executing the laws and of running down and punishing crimes and misdemeanors.³ . . .

I pray Your Excellency to receive the assurance of my respect,

The Consul of the French Republic, J. A. MOERENHOUT

P. S. Enclosed I have the honor to send Your Excellency No. 14 of the *Californian*, which I have just received, and a letter from M. Panaut [Clément Panaud]. This Frenchman two months ago did not have a thousand dollars. Your Excellency will note that in addition to this sum he says that he now has eighty-five pounds of gold.⁴

XIX

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Yerba Buena

Monsieur Le Ministre:

January 20, 1849

I have the honor of addressing to you this letter, together with the duplicate of my letter of November 25, from the port of Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay, where I arrived two days ago.² . . .

Winter and bad weather having interrupted communication with the Sacramento and gold regions where, according to the latest news, the snow has stopped all work, business transactions have much diminished in this port and the price of some articles has even fallen considerably.

Flour, which sold two months ago for \$25 or \$30, may now be bought for from \$10 to \$12 per 200 pounds. But the drop in price of this and all other commodities is occasioned particularly by the enormous cost of warehousing, for despite the fact that this place, which did not count thirty houses ten years ago, now has a population of from 2,000 to 3,000 souls and more than 250 houses, the great quantity of merchandise and the many passengers that arrive here every day render these buildings totally insufficient and have raised the rents to such exorbitant prices that it is impossible to land cargoes or to keep unsold goods for any length of time in the stores.

It therefore seems to me that this fall in price as well as that which will probably result in the case of merchandise in general will be only temporary and that in the spring or toward the months of April and May, when the bulk of the population will again set out for the gold region, such great quantities of provisions and merchandise will be taken out and the needs of all points in the Placer will be so great that all commodities generally used or consumed will immediately rise in value and sell at prices that will yield considerable profit and render shipments to this country safer and more profitable than to any other.

There are now twenty merchant ships in port, with new arrivals every day and twenty to thirty more vessels expected from Chile, Peru, Mexico, from the Islands and from China. The ships from the United States and from Europe also will be arriving before long. It is thus probable that this country will soon be flooded with merchandise and a considerable drop in prices is the more certain in that, as I have said above, there is a lack of storehouses, all communication with the interior has been interrupted, and

in that the business men, who have placed large orders in all countries, have sent a large part of their capital abroad.

But despite this somewhat disturbing perspective and the unfortunate result that this state of things may have for some of the ships that arrive here before the months of April and May, some of which may have to lie here at anchor or take their cargoes elsewhere, it remains probable that there will be such a movement, such increased demand and market in the spring, as soon as the communication with the interior has been opened and the work in the placers begun again, that it seems to me certain that business will again resume its former activity, that the price of merchandise will immediately rise and it will once more sell for very high prices.

It is also to be noted that with the number of emigrants who will be arriving from everywhere, provisions will be very scarce or altogether lacking, regardless of how much may be brought in. It will be the same with beverages, manufactured goods, blankets, cooking utensils, etc., etc. More than 3,000 emigrants from Sonora, Mexico have already arrived, and they all assure us that more than 20,000 are preparing to come to California before April or May. Half the population of Oregon will arrive about the same time.³ In the United States thousands of people are getting ready to come by all routes and, as I have said above, all the ships from Chile, Mexico, the Islands, and from China are filled with passengers. It is also to be borne in mind, M. le Ministre, that all these people, who will not be less than 50,000 to 60,000 during the course of the year, will arrive here totally unsupplied and will in a few days find themselves in a position and with more than sufficient resources to be able to satisfy all their needs, and that, as in the case of the 20,000 white inhabitants already in this country, they will catch the flair for spending and for spending without restraint as soon as they arrive. I, therefore, think that notwithstanding the great quantity of goods that will be imported and the momentary fall in prices that may be experienced, business will pick up as soon as the outlets open into the interior and will again become very good. . . .⁴

. . . I pray Your Excellency to receive the assurance of my greatest respect,

The Consul of the French Republic,

J. A. MOERENHOUT

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT XVI (CONTINUED)

26. Sutter's party landed at this place, Aug. 12, 1839. The fort was built, Sutter recorded, in 1841, "in Aug. & Sept. for protection of the Indians and of the Californians which became bery [sic] jealous seeing these fortifications and 12 Canons and a field piece mounted, and two other brass pieces unmounted at the time." *The Diary of Johann August Sutter*, San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1932, pp. 13-14. It was described by many early travelers. Dufлот de Mofras, Eugene, *Exploration du Territoire de*

l'Orégon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille, Paris, 1844, I, 364; Frémont, J. C., *Memoirs of My Life*, Chicago, 1887, p. 352; Bryant, Edwin, *What I Saw in California*, London: Richard Bentley, 1849, pp. 242-45; Revere, Joseph W., *Tour of Duty in California*, New York, 1849, pp. 71, 74. Nor should we omit the visit of our imaginative friend, J. Tyrwhitt Brooks, who was received with particular cordiality. Brooks, J. T., *Four Months Among the Gold-finders*, London, 1849, pp. 28-32.

27. Don Manuel Vaca, grantee of the Putah rancho, gave his name to the Vaca Valley and to the town of Vacaville.

28. The Napa River and Sonoma Creek. Petaluma Creek connects with Santa Rosa Valley.

29. Robert Semple, a Kentuckian who came to California in 1845, was prominent both by his gigantic size and his versatile activity. Legend has it that in going to and from Benicia, if the ferry was not handy he would wade across Carquinez Strait. Dentist, printer, promoter, filibuster and statesman in the rough, he was one of the leaders of the Bear Flag revolt; founded (with Walter Colton) the State's first newspaper, the *Californian*; was president of the Constitutional Convention of '49; and left as his legacy to posterity a monumental History of California in three pages. See Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 715; Day, Mrs. F. H., "Life of Semple," *Hesperian*, Nov. 1859, p. 386; Radcliffe, Zoe Green, "Robert Baylor Semple, Pioneer," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VI, 2, p. 130; Francis, J. D., "Robert Semple, an Early-day California Promoter," *California History Nugget*, IV, 1, pp. 1-7.

30. Thomas O. Larkin, a Yankee trader who came to Monterey in 1831, was the leading business man of the territory when appointed American Consul in '43. He served in that capacity with great diplomacy and tact, and his reports and other papers preserved in the Bancroft Library are among the most important and reliable sources for the history of the period. At the time of Moerenhout's writing he was engaged in land speculation on a considerable scale and amassed a large fortune—but not from Benicia! Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 706-7; Kelsey, R. W., *The United States Consulate in California*, Pub. of Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. I, No. 5 (biographical material on pp. 7-8, 247-93).

31. Juan Soto was a soldier in the San Francisco company from 1819 to 1824. In 1841 he was living in San Jose, aged 55. His wife was Petra Pacheco and they had several children including Ignacio and Silverio Soto who appear in the Contra Costa County history as possessors of a 1,000-acre tract, part of the San Miguel rancho in the Ygnacio Valley. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 729; *History of Contra Costa County*, San Francisco: W. A. Slocum & Co., 1882, pp. 673-74.

32. Antonio María Suñol, born in Barcelona, had served in the French navy and deserted from the *Bordelais* in California in 1818. He owned the rancho San José del Valle and other properties and was interested in the quicksilver mines at New Almaden. De Mofras found him (1841) "*sous-préfet*" of San Jose, and said of him: "M. Suñol speaks our language very well, and is very devoted to France; he has two farms and many cattle; he runs a business that gives him great importance in the country, and he will be able to assist French ships arriving at San Francisco or at Monte Rey." Mofras, *op. cit. supra*, I, 414. His daughter Paula was the wife of Don Pedro Sainsevain. The son mentioned was probably José Suñol, who was killed by a squatter on the rancho in 1855. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 738, 709.

33. Nacional, a rancho of 6633.29 acres granted to Vicente Cantua in 1839, included what is now the city of Salinas and ran from about Hilltown, along the Salinas River to Blanco or the Cocks tract. During Spanish rule, the land had been designated as the king's pasture because of the rich feed in the Salinas Valley (most of the stock from

Carmel Mission were pastured here), but by the time the grant was made Mexico had succeeded Spain as owner of California, and since names which had any connection with a king were out of favor, it was named *nacional*, or "national." "Historical Episodes," *Salinas Daily Post*, March 20, 1934.

34. The Governor, Col. R. B. Mason, in his report to the Adjutant General written on the same day as Moerenhout's letter states (31st Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, p. 533):

"The discovery of these vast deposits of gold has entirely changed the character of Upper California. Its people, before engaged in cultivating their small patches of ground and guarding their herds of cattle and horses, have all gone to the mines, or are on their way thither; laborers of every trade have left their work-benches, and tradesmen their shops; sailors desert their ships as fast as they arrive on the coast, and several vessels have gone to sea with hardly enough hands to spread a sail; two or three are now at anchor in San Francisco with no crews on board. Many desertions, too, have taken place from the garrisons within the influence of the mines; 26 soldiers have deserted from the post of Sonoma, 24 from that of San Francisco, and 24 from Monterey. For a few days the evil appeared so threatening that great danger existed that the garrisons would leave in a body; . . . laboring men at the mines can now earn in *one day* more than double a soldier's pay and allowances for a month, and even the pay of a lieutenant or captain cannot hire a servant. A carpenter or mechanic would not listen to an offer of less than fifteen or twenty dollars a day . . . A soldier of the artillery company returned here a few days ago from the mines, having been absent on furlough twenty days; he made by trading and working during that time \$1,500."

DOCUMENT XVII

1. Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, No. 17, received Feb. 23, 1849.
2. Document No. XVI, *supra*, pp. 65 *et seq.*
3. In the copyist's transcription *Cosunmes*, *Moquelomes*, *San Stanislaue* and *la Merced*. The names of these rivers are hereinafter rendered in their modern spelling.
4. Albert Richard Fourcade and John R. Fourcade were residents of Monterey as early as 1840-41. A. Fourcade was one of the petitioners for the establishment of the French Consulate there. The Fourcade brothers mined at Mokelumne Hill, in company with many other Frenchmen. Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 745; "The French Consulate in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XI, p. 203, n. 32; Lévy, *Les Français en Californie*, San Francisco, 1884, p. 92.
5. Governor Mason left Monterey shortly after Oct. 5. On the 11th he was camped by the San Joaquin and on the 24th was at New Helvetia. 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, pp. 676-77.
6. A passage dealing with the "Panaud affair" is omitted. See *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 331-33.

DOCUMENT XVIII

1. Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, No. 18, *duplicata*.
2. Étienne Jourdain arrived in Los Angeles in 1847. He established a hotel in San José. Ernest de Massey stopped there in 1850 and said that it was "the first hotel in the village." Jourdain evidently preferred this profitable business to the empty honors of the consular agency, for he never took up the duties of the position. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 695; De Massey, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush* (Calif. Hist. Soc., 1927), pp. 136, 154. See Moerenhout to Minister, March 30, 1849, *infra*. The original of this letter

(Nov. 25, 1848) bears the ministerial notation: "I believe it will be necessary to establish the consulate at Yerba Buena and leave the San Francisco agency to M. [Edouard] Guys" who had been named consular agent at San Francisco but did not arrive until November, 1849.

3. A passage omitted at this point deals with the suppression of the Consulate and recall of Moerenhout, of which he has heard by a letter from Rear-Admiral Le Gourant de Tromelin, dated at Valparaiso, Sept. 16, 1848. See footnote 22 to Introduction. Moerenhout protests that if this be true it will complete the ruin of his affairs, already embarrassed by the rise in prices altogether out of proportion to his salary.

4. This is the French merchant of Santa Cruz the seizure of whose property by Frémont in 1846, coupled with the latter's insolence toward the French consul, gave rise to a minor diplomatic incident. See *Calif Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, Vol. XII, p. 170-72, 331-33. Panaud's letter was found with the Consul's. After asking Moerenhout to attend to some business for him he says that he did good business in the Placer and came back with 85 pounds of gold and \$1,000 in silver.

DOCUMENT XIX

1. Box Monterey, Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, No. 19.

2. In the passage omitted at this point Moerenhout tells how, after leaving Monterey at the end of December, he was turned from his original intention of going to San José by a request for his intervention in favor of a Sardinian, Amelotti, who was having some difficulties with the customs authorities over the seizure of a shipment of sugar. Moerenhout succeeded in settling the matter. He reports that, judging by the amount of duty collected, \$209,165, the imports of the past six months must have amounted to \$600,000 to \$700,000 at least.

3. Burnett thought "that at least two-thirds of the male population of Oregon, capable of bearing arms, started for California in the summer and fall of 1848." Burnett, P. H., *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, N. Y., 1880, p. 254.

4. The omitted passage deals with the inadequacy of the Consul's salary to meet the enormously increased cost of living. It is impossible to live at Yerba Buena, he says, even in the most simple and retiring manner, for less than 25,000 francs per year. The only alternative is to go into business, but he does not think that consistent with the disinterested position that he should occupy.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Items Relating to California and the West**

BARRINGTON, ALEXANDER, *et al.*

A California gold rush miscellany comprising: the original journal of Alexander Barrington, nine unpublished letters from the gold mines, reproductions of early maps and towns from California lithographs; broadsides, &c., &c. With explanatory text by Jane Bissell Grabhorn. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1934. xiv+45 pp., many ill.

BRAME, HERBERT and VERA M.

The Pony Express Courier. Placerville, Calif., June-September, 1934, Vol. I, Nos. 1-4, *et seq.* [Devoted almost entirely to historical items.]

CHANEY, RALPH W.

Renewing the days of forty-nine. Carnegie Institution of Washington. *News Service Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 17, 1934, pp. 122-25, ill. [Describes fossil leaves and petrified wood found by California miners.]

FOLSOM, JOSEPH L.

Life in early California. *The Argonaut*, May, 1934, *et seq.* [Excerpts from letters of Captain Folsom written in San Francisco in 1848.]

GEARY, REV. GERALD J.

The secularization of the California Missions (1810-1846) . . . Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1934. (The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, Vol. XVII.) x+205 pp. (incl. bibliography and index).

HENDRY, G. W.

The source literature of early plant introduction into Spanish America. *Agricultural History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 64-71. [A valuable summary.]

KELLY, CHARLES, and BIRNEY, HOFFMAN

Holy murder, the story of Porter Rockwell. New York: Minton, Balch, 1934. xii+313 pp., ill. [Brigham Young's "Destroying Angels," their methods of handling California emigrants, apostates and others.]

PALÓU, FRANCISCO, *et al.*

The founding of the first California Missions under the spiritual guidance of the Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra. An historical account of the expeditions sent by land and sea in the year 1769 as told by Fray Francisco Palóu and hitherto unpublished letters of Serra, Palóu and Galvéz: the whole newly translated and arranged as a consecutive narrative with the aid of Thomas W. Temple II by Douglas S. Watson. To which is added the account of Serra's death inscribed by Fray Francisco Palóu in the Book of the Dead at Carmel Mission. Printed at the Nueva California Press: San Francisco, 1934. [iii]+iii+124 pp., port. of Junipero Serra.

—The expedition into California of the Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra and his companions in the year 1769 . . . [A special, numbered edition of the above, with a different title, different portrait of Serra, and in addition a folding map and facsimiles of four letters.]

* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—CHARLES L. CAMP.

SHERMAN, WILBUR

The Missions of California. (Running serially in *Grizzly Bear*, beginning July, 1934.)

SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY

Historical outline of Southern Pacific Company. Issued by Bureau of News, S. P. Co., San Francisco, March 1933. 106 pp.+6 pp. of index and 1 of bibliography (mimeographed).

STRONG, EDWARD K., JR.

Japanese in California. Stanford University: Stanford University Publications in Education-Psychology, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1933.

WAGNER, HENRY R[aup]

Published writings of Henry R. Wagner. Santa Anna: Fine Arts Press, May 1, 1934. Privately printed and distributed by the author. [14 pp.] [125 copies printed.]

[WATSON, DOUGLAS S.]

West wind. The life story of Joseph Reddeford Walker, knight of the golden horseshoe. Privately printed for his friends by Percy H. Booth, Los Angeles, California, 1934. [Printed by Johnck & Seeger, San Francisco.] [vi]+112 pp., front., decorations, folding map.

WHEAT, CARL I.

Pioneers. The engaging tale of three early California printing presses and their strange adventures. Privately printed in the Pueblo of Los Angeles, California, 1934. 29 pp., front. [From a paper read before the California Historical Society, Oct. 19, 1932.]

The Rocky-Bar Mining Company, an episode of early western promotion and finance. With a facsimile of the original prospectus of 1850. San Francisco, California, 1934. 12 pp.+12 pp. of prospectus. [Reprinted from the *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March, 1933, "for fellow members of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, and The Zamorano Club of Los Angeles."]

CARMEL PINE CONE

[Serra Festival-Pageant number] Vol. 20, No. 32, Aug. 24, 1934, 44 pp., ill.

COLORADO MAGAZINE

Sept. 1934, contains: "Mountain men—William Craig," by LeRoy R. Hafen; "Kit Carson's Camp Nichols in No Man's Land," by Albert W. Thompson.

MASTERKEY

July, 1934, contains: "Some California songs"—II (2 Spanish Californian songs collected by the late Charles F. Lummis); "An early account of the Chumash," by Arthur Woodward. Sept. 1934, contains: "Notes on the Indians of San Diego County from the manuscripts of Judge Benjamin Hayes," foreword and notes by Arthur Woodward.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

July, 1934, contains: "Frontier defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-53," by A. B. Bender; "Bourke on the Southwest," IV, by Lansing B. Bloom; "Letters to and from Abraham G. Mayers, 1854-57," by Alban W. Hoopes; "A 'Fray Marcos de Niza' note," by Henry R. Wagner.

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

June, 1934, contains: "Snake country expedition, 1824-25," by Frederick Merk; "Murder of Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox," by T. C. Elliott; "California Stage Company in Oregon," by Oscar O. Winther; "Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43," Part II, ed.

by Nellie B. Pipes; "Oregon Printing Association," by Nellie B. Pipes; "Historical American buildings survey final results," by Jamieson Parker.

SANTA BARBARA DAILY NEWS-MORNING PRESS

[Fiesta edition with historical matter.] Vol. 2, No. 42, August 19, 1934, ills.

SIERRA CLUB BULLETIN

June, 1934, contains "Early ascents of Mount Shasta," by Charles L. Stewart;

"John Muir and Ralph Waldo Emerson in Yosemite," by Samuel T. Farquhar.

WASHINGTON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

July, 1934, contains: "Captain George Musalas Colvocoresses, U. S. N.," by Harold Colvocoresses; "Naches Pass," by Elsa Cooper Magnusson; "Warfield's story of Peo-Peo-Mox-Mox," by Clarence L. Andrews; "Captain John Mullan," by Addison Howard; "The Oregon Mission: its transition," by John M. Canse.

WESTWAYS

June, 1934, contains: "First guns of the Modoc War," by Capt. O. C. Applegate; "[Pedro Font] 'Boswell' to Juan de Anza," by Phil Townsend Hanna. July, 1934, contains: "Stage wheels over the padres' trail," by George Hugh Banning; "Grey-head of California bards [Joaquin Miller], by Raine Bennett. August, 1934, contains: "A Californian of some importance—Roman Sepulveda"; "Junipero Serra, Christian conqueror of California," by Raine Bennett.

NEW MEMBERS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Proposed by</i>
Easton, Robert E.	Santa Barbara	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Havre, J. B.	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Howard, F. P.	Carmel, Calif.	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Lindenberger, Mrs. Wm. J.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Marin Union Junior College	Kentfield, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Moffitt, James K.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Newberry, David	San Francisco	Mr. Douglas S. Watson
Shumate, Albert, M.D.	San Francisco	Mr. Anson S. Blake

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Hotel St. Francis on Tuesday, June 19, 1934. Dr. Mark L. Emerson spoke on "Shell Mounds and Caves around San Francisco Bay." The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides and various Indian relics were exhibited.

Dr. Emerson showed first a map of the San Francisco Bay region indicating the locations of the principal mounds and caves where Indian artifacts had been discovered. He described several of the mounds, giving the accepted theory of their creation. He then described in detail the methods employed in excavating for and recovering the buried implements and ornaments. These were in turn described and comments made on the culture represented.

After describing the mounds a briefer reference was made to various caves that showed evidence of human use as habitations.

There were thirty-five members and guests present. ANSON S. BLAKE.

The motive of the summer meeting held Sunday, August 26, 1934, at the San Carlos Hotel, Monterey, was to enable the members to attend the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the death of Padre Junipero Serra, which included impressive services at Carmel Mission, pageants, processions, etc. To give the members full time to witness the many interesting events, there was no historical address. However, a brief list of the points of historical interest was read, so that members unacquainted with the town could take advantage of it. Two members of Monterey's oldest families attended in Spanish costume. There were forty-nine members and guests present.

ERNEST A. WILTSEE.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

June 1 to August 31, 1934

From DR. ALBERT M. BENDER—*California gold rush miscellany*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1934; *Laureate's wreath, anthology*, San Jose, Edwin Markham Poetry Soc., 1934; Atherton, Gertrude, *Immortal marriage*, N. Y., 1927; Idem, *Splendid idle forties*, N. Y., c. 1902; Brace, C. L., *The new West*, N. Y., 1869; Brinton, Anna, *Descensus Averno: Fourteen woodcuts from Sebastian Brant's Virgil*, Stanford Univ., 1930; Cabeça de Vaca, A. N., *Relation*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1929; California Writers Club, *West winds, anthology*, S. F., c. 1925; De Jean, L. L., *Songs of the air*, S. F., c. 1923; Delano, Alonzo, *Pen-knife sketches*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1934; Gifford, E. W., and Block, G. H., *Californian Indian nights entertainments*, Glendale, 1930; Gump, Robt. L., *Chinese rugs*, S. F., 1928 (autog.); Harrison, Rosalie, *Stories in rhyme*, 2d ed., Oakland, c. 1923 (autog.); Hills, Delia M., *Whisperings of Time*, S. F., 1878; James, Elias O., *Thieves of mercy*, Mills College, 1934; Jeffers, Robinson, *Give your heart to*

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From MRS. EDMOND D. COBLENTZ (for the Schweitzer Collection)—Graves, J. A., *My seventy years in California*, Los Angeles, 1928; Grey, William (pseud.), *Picture of pioneer times in California*, S. F., 1881.

From MISS MARY COLMAR—Colmar, Mary, *Trip through Golden Gate Park*, S. F., c. 1927.

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From REV. GERALD J. GEARY—Geary, G. J., *Secularization of the California Missions (1810-1846)*, Washington: Catholic University of America, 1934.

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From MR. DOUGLAS S. WATSON—Kemble, Edward C., *Blowing up the wind*, S. F., privately printed, 1934 (reprinted from the *California Star*, April 24, 1847); [Watson, Douglas S.], *West wind, the life story of Joseph Reddeford Walker, knight of the golden horseshoe*, Los Angeles, privately printed, 1934.

From MR. CARL I. WHEAT—Wheat, C. I., *Pioneers: the engaging tale of three early California printing presses and their strange adventures*, Los Angeles, privately printed, 1934; Idem, *The Rocky-Bar Mining Company, an episode of early western promotion and finance*, San Francisco, 1934.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From DR. ALBERT M. BENDER—View of Knights Templar parade in San Francisco, August 20, 1883, lith. Britton & Rey (framed); "West Wind," a group of

woodcuts of San Francisco by Howard Simon, with an introduction by John D. Barry; photographs: Ambrose Bierce (framed); Ina Coolbrith, and Half Dome, Yosemite, in winter, by Ansel E. Adams; Chinatown scholar, by Laura A. Armer; Carmel Mission, by Johan Hagemeyer; John Henry Nash; Sigmund Stern under the wistaria in his garden at Atherton; 2 views of F. V. Dumond's murals in S. F. Public Library (framed); Interior of Power House Museum, Univ. of Calif., showing Albert Bender collection; Rosenberg marbles, Power House Museum; 2 panels by Anne Bremer; printed reproduction (in color) of painting by Anne Bremer; etching: "Our Lady Queen of the Angels" by Arthur Millier.

From MRS. M. H. B. BOGGS—Photographs: Official Map Shasta County, February, 1862; Plat of Shasta City, 1870; group of stage drivers, Yreka, about 1884.

MISCELLANEOUS

From DR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Broadside: "Martin Merle," spoken by Le Cutler and imprinted by John Henry Nash, 1930; printed folder: "In the good old Golden West," by Stantion Elliot.

From MRS. M. H. B. BOGGS—Spectacles used in California in the fifties; ten theatrical programs, San Francisco, 1875 to 1909; newspapers: *Anderson Valley News* (historical number), June 30, 1932; *Daily Siskiyou News* (pioneer bridge dedication edition), Aug. 22, 1931.

From MRS. F. H. COLBURN—Broadside: "The Earth's first tree," by Frona Eunice Wait Colburn, 1931.

From MR. K. F. FRANCIS—Printed folder: "The sea-sprite and the shooting star," by Jack London, Oakland, 1932.

From MISS JUANITA MILLER—Bracelet made from California gold in 1850 and presented to Maria Abigail Leland (grandmother of Juanita Miller) by her husband, William Wallace Leland, who had gone to California the year before and obtained the gold in payment for a printing press which he had taken with him via the Isthmus of Panama.

From MR. D. Q. TROY—Photostat of page from *The Pioneer*: "Reminiscences of H. F. Williams: Early mail service and chronological history of San Francisco post offices."

From MR. E. A. WILTSEE—A piece of the original "lead pipe cinch" from Don Pedro's Bar, Tuolumne County, 1850.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Four post cards of Portola Festival, S. F., 1909.

LOANS

From MRS. ELLA B. DEXTER—Emperor Norton's cane and photograph.

From MISS SARAH KEENAN—Painting of U. S. Receiving Ship *Independence*, Mare Island, painted by James Dunne, 1879.

From MISS ENID KING—Bayonet recovered from the bottom of San Francisco Bay while digging for the foundation of the Bay Bridge, 1934.

From MRS. R. A. McDONALD—Sword and scabbard presented to Martin J. Burke, Chief of Police, by the Police Battalion, San Francisco, October, 1864.

In Memoriam

MRS. WILLIAM H. CROCKER

With the passing of Mrs. William H. Crocker, July 21, 1934, the Society lost a patron member whose interest in historical matters was not only lively but quite natural. As Ethel W. Sperry, the daughter of the pioneer Stockton family of that name, she was married in 1886 to Mr. Crocker, youngest son of Charles Crocker, one of the builders of the Central Pacific Railroad, who with C. P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Leland Stanford, completed the remaining link of America's first transcontinental railway.

Mrs. Crocker was noted for her charity and philanthropy, likewise for her great interest in gardening. The gardens at her home in Hillsborough were her especial care and delight to which she gave as much of her time as her many social obligations permitted.

With Mr. Crocker she was co-donor of the site of the old Crocker home on California and Taylor Streets in San Francisco, which the fire of 1906 destroyed, as a location for the new Grace Cathedral now in process of erection. One of Mrs. Crocker's most notable gifts was the complete rebuilding of the French town of Vitrimont, destroyed by the Germans during the World War. The former owners of the homes in the obliterated community are today living in comfort in rebuilt structures which Mrs. Crocker's generosity provided. Helping others was Mrs. Crocker's outstanding and characteristic trait.

In the annual report of the Save the Redwoods League for 1931, a contribution of \$25,000 from Mrs. William H. Crocker to purchase 1820 acres in the Calaveras Grove is acknowledged.

Besides her husband, Mrs. Crocker is survived by four children: the Countess Andre de Limur (Ethel Mary), Mrs. Henry Potter Russell (Helen), William W. Crocker, and Charles Crocker; likewise by her sister Elizabeth—the Princess Poniatowski.

At the simple funeral services held in the Episcopal Church of St. Matthew at San Mateo, July 24, 1934, a host of her friends gathered to do honor to her memory, among whom were former President and Mrs. Hoover. Mayor Angelo J. Rossi was also present as San Francisco's official representative.

Mrs. Crocker will long be remembered for the many kindnesses she bestowed upon those in need of her benevolences, which were far wider spread than can be imagined.

In Memoriam

MRS. EDWIN RUDOLPH DIMOND

It is with sincere regret that the Society announces the death of Mrs. E. R. Dimond (Harriet Newton) on the 10th of July, 1934.

As a bride Mrs. Dimond came to California from her home in Brooklyn, New York, and lived in San Francisco until the time of her death. Soon after her arrival here she became interested in matters of civic welfare, being named one of a committee with Mrs. John F. Merrill to report upon the deplorable conditions then existing in the San Francisco City and County Hospital. As a result of this investigation the present fine structure was destined to arise. For many years Mrs. Dimond served on the boards of the Woman's Hospital, the Home for Incurables (now the Garden Nursing Home), and the San Francisco Protestant Orphanage Society. At different times she served as president, secretary, and treasurer, of the last named institution, and perhaps her outstanding work was that as chairman of the building committee for the new Orphanage. She and Mr. Dimond were both equally interested in this undertaking, and their experience and unselfish devotion helped materially in the perfecting of the plans for the new home.

Mrs. Dimond was a member of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America Resident in California, and was for some years one of its vice-presidents. She was likewise a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Garden Club, and several of the women's clubs of San Francisco, as well as of the California Historical Society.

Mrs. Dimond was a clear and independent thinker, and a loyal and understanding friend. The world is a happier place in which to live because of her life, and her many friends will be sad and lonely without her.

NELLIE STOW.